


A HISTORY
OF ENGLISH
WALLPAPER



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Frontispiece. 18th CENTURY ENGLISH WALLPAPER ON DISTEMPER GROUND

A remarkably fine specimen of English block-printed wallpaper. Part of five unused pieces still remaining from the decoration of the Manor House, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, in 1769. Printed from four blocks on a distemper ground. The paper bears the "G.R." Excise stamp, with the serial figure "4." Authorship attributed to Bromwich, of Ludgate Hill, or Spinnage, of Cockspur Street. Reduction 1—5. Two other papers from the Manor House are illustrated in Plates 39A and 39B. Permission, Mrs. Simpson-Hayward.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH WALLPAPER

1509-1914



by
ALAN VICTOR SUGDEN
and
JOHN LUDLAM EDMONDSON

WITH 70 PLATES IN COLOUR AND
190 ILLUSTRATIONS IN HALF-TONE

LONDON
B.T. BATSFORD LTD., 94 HIGH HOLBORN

THIS BOOK
IS DEDICATED TO



METFORD WARNER

IN RECOGNITION OF HIS GREAT SERVICES IN CONNECTION
WITH THE WALLPAPER INDUSTRY, AND WITH THE RESPECT
AND AFFECTION OF A YOUNGER GENERATION.

FOREWORD

THE achievements of English paper-stainers, taking them all in all, not ignoring periods when the craft languished, nor exaggerating results when the national inventiveness and artistic skill burgeoned for all the world to see and emulate, have been excelled in no other country. Yet no adequate record of them has hitherto existed.

Nearly a hundred years ago John Gregory Crace set down what was then known of the origin and development of the industry, and since his time many writers have touched on the subject—some content to rely on Crace's facts, others delving, as opportunity and inclination served, in this or that corner, but none seeking to cover the whole field.

The present writers have availed themselves of the results of those labours—the common stock of knowledge, as it seemed—checking and testing as far as possible. They claim in many cases to have thrown fresh light on obscure or misread pages of history. In addition, thanks to the ready co-operation of so many people, both inside and outside the industry, interested in the subject, they have had access to sources of information not previously available.

The pages, then, that follow are intended chiefly as a tribute to the pioneers whose work, whether in an artistic, a mechanical, or any other capacity, laid the foundations of the very important art-industry of manufacturing paper-hangings which has been built up in this country.

The scope of the book is as comprehensive as it has been practicable to make it. Beginning with the first crude attempts to use paper bearing a design or picture as a form of decoration in substitution for the costly gilt embossed leathers and figured textiles of the period, the development in technical and artistic achievement is traced down to the year 1914.

It has been felt that as the Great War marked a definite era, the beginning of that historic event was a fitting point at which virtually to bring the record to a halt, thus choosing a date when the latest developments dealt with are not too recent to be seen in proper perspective.

On that account inadequate mention is made of persons still alive whose contributions to the vitality of the industry, though they seem worthy to be set besides those of the giants of the past, have been left to the final judgment of posterity. As, however, the "Mill Records," which form a separate section at the end of the book, have been brought more nearly up to date, recent progress in the craft has not been entirely ignored.

No pains have been spared to make the illustrations, as well as the letterpress matter, help to illumine the history of the industry. The specimens reproduced have been chosen primarily for that reason, but many, particularly those in colour *facsimile*, will be found to possess intrinsic interest. It has been found convenient to group all the illustrations covering a particular phase or period at the end of the chapters to which they relate.

In the endeavour to reconstruct the past it has been necessary to quote freely from the pages of writers no longer living whose words remain an imperishable inheritance of mankind; there is therefore no need to particularise them here. It is not intended, either, to mention by name—nor would they wish it—the host of persons connected with the wallpaper industry who, each in his way and according to his ability, have readily placed their knowledge and records at the disposal of the present writers or lent specimens for illustrations. But so far as their services have all contributed to this effort to do justice to English achievement in the development of the art-craft of wallpaper production, they are gratefully appreciated.

Acknowledgment is also made of the indebtedness of the present writers to all whose work has inspired the amplification or correction of existing records, or who have helped them in their search for information. It is impossible to mention all individually, but among those whom it is specially desired to thank are Hilary Jenkinson, M.A., F.S.A., H. Avray Tipping, M.A., John Hilditch, F.R.G.S., Ingleson C. Goodison, Ambrose Heal, J. A. Fort, M. Simpson-Hayward, Nancy McClelland, Phyllis Ackerman, McIver Percival, Margaret Jourdain, Francis Lenygon, Oliver Brackett, as well as many courteous officials in various departments of the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Guildhall Library, the Public Record Office, the Patent Office Library, the London Museum, the Rylands Library, and the Manchester Central Reference Library.

Readers whose interest in the subject is not exhausted by the general history will find, in the "Mill Records" that follow it, a store of valuable information, based to a large extent on material not previously available, which may prove of great service to future historians.

A further section on "Relief Decorations" has been added in the hope that though the composition and methods of production of these materials are not, strictly speaking, those of wallpaper, yet the place they fill is sufficiently germane to that of paper-hangings to justify inclusion. In some respects they carry to perfection, in a way not possible until the necessary technical advances had been made, the efforts of the old paper-stainers at imitating various forms of decoration too costly for general use. Their production, moreover, has grown up within the wallpaper industry proper, and on that score also a History of English Wallpaper would be incomplete without some account of their character and scope.

DECEMBER, 1925.

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CHAPTER I

WALLPAPER'S ANCESTRY

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW—THE DAY OF TAPESTRY—PAINTED CLOTH IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES—THE DAWN OF PAPER IN ENGLAND.

WALLPAPER, beyond question, is the most universal, as it is the most democratic, of the applied arts. Throughout the civilised world of to-day there is no other form of domestic decoration so generally adopted. It can be produced cheaply, and at the same time artistically, enough to give beauty to the humblest dwelling; in its highest grades, properly employed, it can enhance as no other material those qualities whether of space, proportion, colour, or appropriateness of background which the walls of even the finest apartments are intended to present. William Morris in his lecture on "The Lesser Arts of Life" said:—

"Whatever you have in your rooms, think first of the walls, for they are that which makes your house and home, and if you do not make some sacrifices in their favour you will find your chambers have a kind of make-shift, lodging-house look about them, however rich and handsome your movables may be."

This advice sets forth a guiding principle whose influence on the evolution of the domestic arts cannot be exaggerated.

But democratic though wallpaper is in the widest sense of the term, its lineage is both high and ancient. Its remote forbears were the crude cave-drawings of pre-historic man, followed by the more artistic wall-paintings of the Egyptians, the Etruscans, the Greeks, the Carthaginians, the Saracens, the dwellers in Pompeii and Herculaneum, and indeed of every bygone people that attained to racial greatness.

Whatever of religious significance attached to these paintings in the earliest days gradually became subordinate to the æsthetic side, and as the ages rolled on it became increasingly apparent that beauty of form and colour, protection against cold and damp, and fitness to minister to a growing appreciation of luxurious surroundings were the chief objects aimed at in the use of wall-coverings.

Every country in Europe in the Middle Ages had its artificers skilled in the adornment of the castles and palaces of the rich and powerful.

Skins of animals slain in the chase played their due part in the development of taste, as did man's gradual mastery over some of the plastic arts, leading to the vogue of sculptured bas-relief, coloured tiles and stucco, the use of marble and other stones of outstanding colour or texture, embossed and painted leather, woven tapestry, and dyed or painted linen or other textiles.

Only by a bird's-eye view down the centuries is it possible to realise how the transition to wallpaper took place. It needed, first of all, the development of paper-making, and particularly paper of a quality to enable it to be used for the purpose, before the day of wallpaper could dawn at all. The period preceding that dawn shaded so imperceptibly into the wallpaper era, and explains so vividly the form, both technically and artistically, which wallpaper took, that it is worth while spending a little time in trying to understand its influence.

THE DAY OF TAPESTRY

Tapestries and painted cloth, then, were the immediate forerunners of wallpaper. One of the oldest and best-known tapestries is that preserved at Bayeux, in Normandy, and popularly supposed to have been the work of William the Conqueror's Queen, Matilda, and her ladies, but which, more probably, was done to the orders of Bishop Odo, William's brother, for it just fitted the circuit of the nave of his Cathedral church, and ancient records show that of old it was displayed there on St. John's (Dedication) Day.

Actually it is more in the nature of a panoramic sampler than a tapestry. Consisting of a roll of linen 230 feet long by about 22 inches deep, and covered with a series of figures, executed in embroidery stitch in outline with yarns of various colours, it depicts the story of King Harold's visit to the Norman Court, the subsequent invasion of England by William, and Harold's defeat and death on Senlac Hill in 1066. It contains the figures of 623 persons, 202 horses, and 687 other objects, in black, red, yellow, fawn, and two shades of blue and of green, each colour being used throughout for the same subject.

In Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" (1386), reference is made to "A Webbe, a Deyer, and a Tapycer," and Wyclif in his version of "Exodus" (1380) speaks of "A Tapisere and a Brodere of iacynt, purpur, vermyloun and bijs."

Digby Wyatt in his "Industrial Arts of the 19th Century," one of the most stimulating by-products of the first great International Exhibition of London, in 1851, recalls that in 1392, Richard of Arundel bequeathed to his wife the hangings of his hall, described as recently made in London of a blue colour and having red roses and the arms of his sons figured thereon, and that Warton (in his "History of English Poetry") mentions that tapestries containing a reproduction of Syr Guy's famous fight with the dragon in Northumberland were in existence at Warwick Castle before 1398, and also gives a list of subjects treated on the tapestries of the various palaces belonging to Henry VIII. Very full descriptions of hangings also appear in the inventories of Henry VII now existing in the Record Office in London.

Hunt in his "Exemplars of Tudor Architecture" remarks on the historical and fabulous subjects represented on these hangings. The Siege of Troy, the story of Hercules, the parable of the Prodigal Son, seem to have been the favourite, as they were the most general.

"Parke work" (landscape) and heraldry held high place in the estimation of the "devysors" of bygone times. In 1503, Katherine Lady Hastings disposed by will of "counterfeit arras* with my lord's arms, counterfeit arras with the imagery of women, alsoe pieces I have of blew and better blew with my lord's armes; and also pieces of hangings of verd that now hang in my chamber and the parlour."

Hunt also states, "Some information of the price of hangings may be collected from a letter of Gilbert Talbot's to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 1576, wherein he says:—

'I have seen many fayre hangynges, yo' L may have of all prycesse, eyther ii's a styck or vii grotes, iii's, iv's, v's or vi's, the styck,† eaven as yo' L will bestow; but there is of v's the stycke that is very fayre; but unless yo' L send upp a measure of what depthe and bredthe you wolde have them, suerly they will not be to yo' L's lykyng; for most of them are very shallow and I have yet seene none that I thynke depe inoughe for a great chamber but for lodgynges.'

Cardinal Wolsey's inventories mention hangings of cloths of gold and silver and tapestries of pictorial subjects.

* Arras in North-east France was the most famous centre of tapestry weaving in the 14th and 15th centuries, and tapestry became known as arras. It was often hung a little distance from the wall, and "behind the arras" was a favourite place for eavesdroppers, sometimes with unfortunate results, as witness the killing of Polonius in "Hamlet."

† Compare "stück," German for "a piece."

Nowhere can the development of tapestry be studied to better effect than at Hampton Court Palace. Here are three of the "Nine Peces of ye Storye of ye vii Deadlie Synnes," which in Wolsey's time hung in the "Legate's Chamber." They date from about 1470, and were of Flemish manufacture. Along with another set of three illustrating "Ye Storye of ye Trymphes" (of Fate, Renown, and Time), they were taken over by Henry VIII, and at the sale of Charles I's goods were sold for £47, but their removal was prevented by Cromwell when he took up his residence at Hampton Court. Finest of all are the eight (out of ten) pieces illustrating the "Story of Abraham," referred to in an inventory of Henry VIII's effects as a "newe arras," which, at Charles I's sale, were valued at £8,260, but, like the others, retained for the use of Cromwell. (The other two pieces of the set hang in the Chapel of St. James's Palace).

Some idea of the vogue of tapestry is to be obtained from the fact that an Act of Henry VIII, dated 1512, mentions 4,000 pieces of tapestry as being imported in one ship, and according to William Harrison the use of tapestry (and painted cloth) in Elizabeth's reign was not confined to the nobility. Describing life in London, he said :—

"The walls of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapesterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diverse histories, or hearbes, beasts, knots, and such like, are stained, or else they are seeled of oke of our owne, or wainscot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the rooms are not a little commended, made warmer and much more close than otherwise they would be."

Spenser, in his "Faerie Queen," speaks of "Goodly arras of great majesty, woven with gold and silk;" and again :—

"And in those tapets weren fashioned,
Many fair portraits and many a fair feat;"

and yet again :—

"For not with Arras made in painful loom,
But with pure gold it all was overlaid,
Wrought with wild Anticks, which their follies played
In the rich metal, as they living were."

Shakespeare has many references to tapestry—"worm-eaten tapestry," "Turkish tapestry," "Tyrian tapestry," "tapestry of silk and silver; the story proud Cleopatra," "in cypress chests my arras"; and besides the incident already referred to, in which Hamlet and Polonius

were concerned, he describes how Falstaff, having fallen asleep behind the arras at the Boar's Head, in Cheapside, had his pockets rifled by Prince Hal.

PAINTED CLOTH

But even more interesting, because they marked a later stage in the evolution of wallpaper, are Shakespeare's references to "painted cloth." The practice of painting in water-colours on cloth seems to have been followed in England to a considerable extent, and this material being cheaper than tapestry, its use spread among a class for whom tapestry was too dear to buy. Digby Wyatt says that the English production was sufficiently notable to attract the attention of foreigners, and he mentions that in Le Begue's copy of the MSS. of Alcherius, it is recorded under date, February 11th, 1410:—

"I caused a copy to be made in Bologna of certain receipts lent me by Theodoric of Flanders, an embroiderer at Pavia, which receipts the said Theodoric said he had obtained in London, in England, from the artists who used the water-colours hereunder described."

From a description of the process it would appear that the artists worked with water-colours on closely-woven linen saturated with gum water, the linen being laid on coarse woollen cloths which sucked up the moisture and prevented the colours spreading.

In Shakespeare's "King Henry IV," Part II, Falstaff, trying to cajole Mistress Quickly at the Boar's Head, into pawning her plate and her tapestry in order to pay his debts, urges:—

"Glasses, glasses is the only drinking, and for thy walls—a pretty, slight drollery, or the story of the Prodigal, or the German hunting in water-work is worth a thousand of these bed-hangings and these fly-bitten tapestries."

The story of the Prodigal must have been quite familiar to Falstaff, for in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," when Master Slender's messenger calls to speak with Sir John at the Garter Inn, the hostess directs him:—

"There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his standing-bed, and truckle-bed; 'tis painted about with the story of the Prodigal, fresh and new. Go, knock and call."

In "Henry IV," Part I, Falstaff speaks of his raw levies as "slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth."

In "Love's Labour Lost," Costard rallies Sir Nathaniel, the parish curate, who is seized with stage-fright when playing the part of Alexander in the pageant before the King:—

"You will be scraped out of the painted cloth for this."

There was a simpler form of painted (or printed) cloth—not pictorial, but “improving.” Dr. Bulleyne in “A Dialogue both Pleasant and Pitiful” (1564), speaks of “A comelie parlour, and faire cloths, with pleasant borders aboute the same, with many wise sayings painted upon them.” A typical “wise saying” dating back to 1601, runs:—

“Read what is written on the painted cloth:
Do no man wrong, be good unto the poor;
Beware the Mouse, the Maggot, and the Moth,
And ever have an eye unto the door.”

In “As You Like It,” Jaques, catechising Orlando as to his inamorata, says:—“You are full of pretty answers. Have you been acquainted with goldsmiths’ wives and conn’d them out of rings?” “Not so,” replies Orlando, “but I answer you right painted cloth, from whence you have studied your questions.”

In “Lucrece,” Shakespeare makes Tarquin stifle conscience by telling himself:—

“Who fears a sentence or an old man’s saw
Shall by a painted cloth be kept in awe.”

And in “Troilus and Cressida,” Pandarus, cast off and reviled by Troilus, in his bitterness suggests as a verse for “your painted cloths”:—

“Full merrily the humble bee doth sing,
Till he hath lost his honey and his sting;
And being once subdued in armed tail,
Sweet honey and sweet notes together fail.”

There is abundance of other contemporary references to painted cloth. In “Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex,” it is recorded that among the parcels which Robert Devereux, the second Earl, bought at his entrance into Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1577 were, *inter alia*, “new hangings in the study of painted cloth, 16s.”; and again, “painted cloths in the chamber and painting in the bed-chamber, £1 18s. 4d.; a piece of new painted cloth in the chamber, 3s., etc., etc.” An “Inventory of the Stuff in the College Chambers” (King’s College, Cambridge) taken in 1598, includes in “the Chamber over the Pantree” (occupied by Dr. Shepard and Ds. Taylor):—“Item, a glasse windowe, Item, a paynted clothe in this gall”; and an Inventory at Westminster Palace in the reign of Henry VII includes:—“Item one Cloth stained with Phœbus riding with his cart in the air, with a history of him.”

Other mediæval inventories speak of "painted cloth with stories and batailes," "painted cloth of beyond-sea work," and it is on record that "Mayster Thomas More (Henry VIII's famous Lord Chancellor) in hys youth devysed in his father's house in London a goodly hanging of fyne painted clothe, with nyne pageauntes, and verses for every one of these pageaunts." There are many interesting specimens, both of painted cloth and of tapestry, at Hardwick Hall, installed there by the famous "Bess of Hardwick" in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The transition from tapestry and painted cloth to paper-hangings was very gradual, but at least it is possible to some extent to trace the decline of painted cloth, for in the reign of Queen Elizabeth it is recorded that a petition was addressed to the Commons by the painters setting forth that "the painting on cloth is decayed." Even earlier, on May Day, 1517, there was an "insurrection" of London traders against foreign traders, and among the grievances mentioned are those of the makers of painted cloths.

THE DAWN OF PAPER

It has already been stated that there could be no wallpaper until the manufacture of paper had been brought to such a pitch of development that it was sufficiently cheap and suitable for the purpose. It is generally accepted that in England the first paper-maker was John Tate. A date just before the end of the 15th century is assigned as the time when he started a paper factory at Stevenage, Herts. In an English edition of *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, printed in 1496 by Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's assistant and successor, is a reference to Tate:—

"Whiche late hathe in Englonde doo make thys paper thynne
That now in our englyssh thys boke is prynted inne."

The watermark of the paper is an eight-pointed star in a double circle, and exactly similar paper was used by Wynkyn for his "Golden Legend," which is dated 1498.

In Henry VII's Household Book appears an entry under date May 25th, 1498:—"For a rewarde geven at the paper mylne, 16s. 8d.," and again in 1499, "Geven in rewarde to Tate of the mylne, 6s. 8d."

A reference in a book called "The Spark of Friendship," in 1588, to a paper-mill established at Dartford, in Kent, by Sir John Spielman, a German, as the first in England, is obviously not accurate as regards

its assumption of priority. It is interesting, however, as indicating the magnitude of the establishment":—

"Six hundred men are set to work by him
That else might starve or seek abroad their bread
Who now live well and go full brave and trim
And who may boast they are with paper fed."

Shakespeare makes the rebel Jack Cade (1450), before ordering Lord Say to be executed, accuse that nobleman, among other "crimes," that

"Whereas before our forefathers had no other books but the score
and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used, and contrary
to the King, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper mill";

but Shakespeare was not above perpetrating anachronisms, and this is a case in point.

Paper was manufactured both in Italy and in Germany long before John Tate started his mill in Herts., or John Spielman his in Kent. Paper mills worked by water power were in operation in Tuscany and other parts of Italy from the beginning of the 14th century, and this circumstance, no doubt, was the principal reason why the manufacture of "domino" papers (a type of decoration to be described later) was first developed in that country. In Germany, paper-making began in Mainz in about 1320; and in 1390 a manufactory was started at Nuremberg with the aid of Italian workmen. Paper, no doubt imported from the Continent, was used in this country at the beginning of the 14th century; Haydn records the existence of a paper account-book, dated 1302, and there is an English MS. on linen paper dated 1321. In Oxford, in 1355, a quire of paper, small folio size, cost fivepence, equal in modern value to twelve or fifteen shillings. In the 15th century its value had decreased to threepence or fourpence per quire.

CHAPTER II

EARLY WALLPAPERS

RARE SURVIVORS—THE OLDEST SURVIVING PAPER-HANGING—OTHER EARLY SPECIMENS—"GENERAL UTILITY" PAPERS—16TH AND 17TH CENTURY PAPERS CLASSIFIED—EARLY LETTERPRESS INFLUENCE—"DOMINO" PAPERS—"FLOCK" PAPER—JEROME LANYER'S LETTERS PATENT—PROGRESS DURING THE 17TH CENTURY—OLD-TIME ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE perishable nature of the material is, no doubt, the reason so few specimens of early wallpapers have survived. So far as London is concerned—where the greatest number of examples might have been expected to be found—the Great Fire would take heavy toll in 1666. There is also a lack of precise information as to their manufacture and the extent of their use.

Only within recent years, and by careful research, has there gradually emerged any clear idea of how paper bearing a pattern or design came to take its place in interior decoration.

It has been customary to attribute to François, of Rouen, a working paper-maker and sheath-maker ("*papetier et gainier*"),* the credit of being the first considerable producer of paper-hangings. François is said to have been making "flock" papers soon after 1600, and some of the wood-cut blocks used in making his patterns are stated to have borne the dates 1620 and 1630. The claim is based on the testimony (in the *Journal Economique*, in 1756) of a paper-stainer named Tierce, who had taken over the business at the death of François' son, in 1748, at which date, he declared, the actual blocks were still in existence. The span covered by the dates somewhat strains full credulity, and the statement may have been only a little natural "window-dressing" by Tierce.

Making every allowance for the reputation François acquired, there is reason to conclude that at most he merely exploited existing practices.

* The term "*gainier*" to this day is used to describe one employed in covering or lining the inside of fancy boxes, cutlery cases, etc. The material used is a "*papier velouté*," and the article so lined or covered is said to be *gainé* (though the more modern term is "*garni*"). François was really a binder, and the "sheaths" he made no doubt consisted chiefly of covers for books, of the "domino" type shown in Plates 21 and 22.

The facts appear to be that the use in Western Europe, for decorative purposes, of paper bearing a design or picture goes back to a hundred and possibly a hundred and fifty years before François' time. When, at the end of the 14th century—before even letterpress printing from movable types was evolved—the learned and saintly men of the day discovered the art of reproducing on paper or vellum, by means of wood-cut blocks, pictorial representations of religious subjects, it was not long before the possibilities of applying the principle to more secular purposes were grasped.

The exact date cannot be given, but recent research makes it clear that before the end of the 15th century the practice was not uncommon of giving paper a decorative appearance, either by means of wooden blocks on which a design was engraved (with, later, the addition of colour through a stencil or by hand brushwork), or by one or other of the allied processes of "marbling" or "scratching," to which reference will be made later.

The paper so decorated was used for a variety of purposes—it might be to cover books in place of leather or vellum, or to form the end-pieces of volumes bound in the ordinary way, to line cupboards, chests, and boxes, or to affix to the walls of minor apartments, where richer material would have been out of place or, possibly, too dear.

It is probable François found the papers he made for his "sheaths" were in such demand for wall-hangings, that he developed that side of his business so assiduously as to justify his name being handed down in his own country as the pioneer of the craft. But that many simple forms of patterned paper were being produced in this and other European countries, and used for domestic decorative purposes, a full century before François' time, is now undoubted.

THE OLDEST SURVIVING PAPER-HANGING

Moreover, as will be seen later, the school of English producers of decorative papers in Tudor and early Jacobean times owed nothing either in artistic expression or in technical skill to the artificers of other countries. Their work was unmistakably English in character, and its high quality denoted a tradition and a practice that were well established.

By a stroke of fortune, there was discovered so recently as 1911, at Cambridge, what is the oldest known surviving patterned paper of

European production used as a wall decoration.* This example, of which, by courtesy of Sir Arthur E. Shipley, the Master of Christ's College, we are able to reproduce photographs of some of the original fragments, as well as a reconstruction of the design (Plates 1, 2, and 3), was evidently printed from a wood-cut block on an ordinary printing press. The purpose to which it was put, however, stamps it as the oldest actual wallpaper of which fragments still exist, and on that account its discovery and identification deserve more than passing mention.

The full story was related in most interesting fashion in "Cambridge Fragments," a small brochure by the late Charles Sayle, published by the University Press in 1913.

In the early summer of 1911, when restoration work was proceeding at the Lodge at Christ's College, workmen found the original beams of the ceiling of the entrance hall and of the dining-room covered with paper bearing a black and white design, and on the other side some English black-letter printing.

By instructions of the Master, every scrap that could be saved was carefully collected. The paper was very badly perished; indeed, it was only on account of the oily nature of the ink with which it was printed, that any part of it was still left. When the design was reconstructed it was seen that it had measured 16 inches by 11 inches, and consisted of a conventional pomegranate form, of Florentine design, with foliated decoration both inside and out.

The find became much more important when it was seen that the printing on the back consisted variously of fragments of a poem on the death of Henry VII (April, 1509), a Proclamation dated "the x day of Aprille, the furste yere of our (Henry VIII's) raigne" (of which there were the remains of eight copies), a Proclamation of Pardon for all crimes committed before April 23rd, 1509, and an Indulgence of Pope

* It has been claimed that specimens of paper bearing animal forms of a grotesque Gothic character, printed in black, and dating back to the 15th century, preserved in the library of the chapter-house at Melk, Austria, are really the oldest European wallpapers; but the claim hardly stands the test of examination. It is true the specimens are authentically 15th century, but they are on parchment, and Gustav Iven, one of the most authoritative modern German writers on the subject, declares that their purpose was solely for binding books, a suggestion which derives weight, not only from the nature of the material, but also from the small scale of the objects. Other writers have claimed that in Weigel and Zestermann's "*Anfänge der Druckerkunst*" (1866) is a representation of St. George in "flock," dating back to 1475-1500, which was presumably used as a wall decoration. It is a representation in the technique of "flocking," but there is not the slightest evidence that it differs in any way from other pictures of saints of the period produced for sale to pilgrims at shrines or "stations" (hence the origin of "stationer"). Neither in form nor in appearance is there anything to suggest that it was ever used or intended to be used as a decoration other than a picture.

Julius II (1503-13). As it is known that the Lodge was completed about the end of 1509, for the use of the foundress of the College, Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of King Henry VII, "and in our absence for John (Fisher), Bishop of Rochester, so often as he may choose to visit the College, and for so long a time as he may desire to reside within it," the dates of the letterpress matter made it virtually certain that the paper was affixed to the beams when the Lodge was first occupied.

The printing was at first believed, from the character of the type, to be that of Wynkyn de Worde, or of Pynson, who, though of Norman origin, was, next to Wynkyn, the most famous London printer of that time. It is now agreed, however, that it was the work of Hugo Goes, of Beverley and York.*

Apart from slight discrepancies in the printed matter on the verso from authenticated productions of Wynkyn and Pynson of the same date, it will be seen that on one side of the design is a Lombardic "H," and on the other a bird. This was Goes' "rebus."†

Seeing the noble foundress of the College was the special patron of Wynkyn de Worde, who, in 1509, styled himself "Printer unto the most excellent princess, my lady the King's Grandame," it may seem to require explanation how Hugo Goes came to find himself in this galley at Christ's.

The author of "Cambridge Fragments" had his attention called to the fact that Bishop Fisher, of Rochester, who was confessor and adviser to Countess Margaret and drew up the Statutes of the College, was a native of Beverley, and it seemed not too wild a conjecture that he knew Goes and his work sufficiently to recommend him to the foundress.

* Goes has been described by some authorities as the son of Matthias van der Goez, an eminent printer who flourished at Antwerp from 1483 to 1497. There is, however, no evidence on the point. On the other hand, Hugh, or Hugo, was a common Christian name in Yorkshire, as in other parts of the country at the period, and the surname was not unknown in the East Riding of the County. In 1369, Robertus Gose de Popillton—Poppleton is the modern spelling of this village near York—was a freeman of York, and in 1418 Richard Goos, of Beverley, was punished for fishing on a Sunday. The variation in spelling is quite usual. That Hugo Goes does not appear in the lists of York freemen is explained by the fact that those who were permitted to live in the Stonegate, within the precincts of the Minster, as he did, were under ecclesiastical authority and had no need to seek freemen's privileges in order to practise their craft.

† Joseph Ames, who was Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries and started the compilation of "Typographical Antiquities" (completed after his death by William Herbert and published in 1790), records that there was in possession of one Thomas Martyn, of Norfolk (who died in 1771), a broadside printed by Goes, being:—

"A wooden cut of a man on horseback with a spear in his right hand and a shield, with the arms of France in his left; 'Emprynted at Beverlay in the Hye-gate by me, Hewe Goes,' with his mark or rebus of a great H and a Goose."

The present writers would suggest a more probable theory is that it was through Wynkyn's influence that Goes came to be connected with the matter. Though Goes printed his broadside in the High-gate, at Beverley, his more important productions were from his press in the Stone-gate, York. There is credible evidence of his having there printed a Grammar and an Accidence, early in the century, as well as a church service book (*Directorium Sacerdotum*), which bore the date February, 1509.* The latter was printed with a font of type which had belonged to Wynkyn, but which that printer discarded when, at the end of 1500, he moved from Caxton's house at Westminster to Fleet Street, partly, no doubt, to be nearer the centre of trade, but also the better to be able to compete with his rival, Pynson.

What more natural, in a year when there would be great demand for printing of Proclamations and other official documents, than that Wynkyn should put some work in the way of Goes, whom he would know for a capable printer, and with whom he had already done business, even if, as the present writers suggest is a possibility, Goes had not actually been his apprentice?† In those circumstances, and paper being much

* This York Pica (as the service book was called) was composed in 1497 by Robert Avisse, Chaplain of St. Gregory's, York, and revised by Thomas Hothyrall, the Vicar Choral, who had it printed by Goes, with a prelude from the pen of Thomas Hannibal, LL.D., of Cambridge, who was a Canon of York, and Master of the Rolls (1523-8). It is interesting to know that Simon of Evesham, Archbishop Gray's scribe, bequeathed his house in Stone-gate to the vicars' choral as far back as 1287. It looks as though Goes, in setting up his press in Stone-gate, "attached" himself to the Minster authorities.

A copy of *Directorium Sacerdotum* is in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York, and another is in that of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Both are now imperfect, but when Ames was preparing his "Typographical Antiquities," the Cambridge copy contained a colophon ending:—" . . . impressum Eboraci per me Hugonem Goes in vico qui appellatur Steengate, A.D.M.D.IX., 18 die mensis Februarij." As to the Grammar and Accidence, Robert Davies in "A Memoir of the York Press" (1868) records that in the British Museum (Harleian MS. No. 6115) is a little book printed at York in 1664, which contains a note in the handwriting, it is supposed, of the reputed author, one Christopher Hildyard, a York barrister who took great interest in antiquarian matters, to the following effect:—"A gramer printed at Yorke which doth beare this title, viz., *Incipit Donatus minor cum Remigio ad usum pusillorum Anglicanarum scholarum*; and ends thus: *Impressum Eboraci in vico q' nuncupat' Steengate per me Hugonem Goes*; And an Accidence printed by the same printer, Goose, at Yorke, as aforesaid; And there is bound up with the same book, viz., *Iste sunt regule informationis prime secundum usum Magistri Johannis Boothby seneoris*; and ends *Emprynted at London in fleete streete at the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Word, Ano. Dni. Mccccvi*. Soe I doe conclude that that at Yorke was first printed, being all one carector and first bound up. The book I have by me new bound up by Mr. Mawburn of York, bookseller, 1667, July 12." As against this supposed date of not later than 1506, may be quoted the following note from G. Oliver's "History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster 'of Beverley" (1829):—"It should appear that the arts were not only encouraged but cultivated at Beverley with no common assiduity and care. . . . In 1506 a printing press was erected at Beverley by Hugo Goes, who lived in Hye Gate. He used for a device the letter H and a Goose, in allusion to his name." The discrepancy as to date is not serious. It is possible Hildyard was mistaken in inferring that the Goes' books bound with the Wynkyn production were printed first, and that actually they were printed about the same year as the Pica, and in any case after Goes had left Beverley for York.

† It is known that in 1509 there existed a close connection between Wynkyn and the printers and stationers of York. In the case of Gerard Wandsforth, who described himself as a stationer of York, and who died in October, 1510, there is direct evidence on the point in his will to the following effect:—"To Richard Watterson of London xls., to the which Richard Mr. Wynkyn de Word can

too valuable to waste, it is not surprising that Goes should use up his "spares" by putting a design on the unprinted side, and some of these were utilised for decorating the new Lodge at Christ's.

Sir Arthur E. Shipley, in a letter to the present writers, puts forward, though as "mere conjecture," the following interesting speculation:

"I have always thought that what happened was this, that King Henry VIII, who was very proud of coming to the throne as a young man—he was only eighteen—sent down a bundle of his Proclamations to his grandmother, and she, as we know, being a very frugal woman, had the pattern stamped on the back and stuck the paper up."

As an additional speculation on how Goes came into the matter, Sir Arthur draws attention to the fact that Christ's College has always had a close connection with the northern counties of England, accounted for partly, no doubt, by the titular association of the foundress with "Richmondshire" and her not infrequent visits to the County of York.

An interesting speculation as to how far printers of the day combined with their calling something of that of decorator, is prompted by the fact that one of the small band of Goes' fellow-craftsmen in York, Ursyn Mylner, who was made a freeman of the city by redemption in 1515, and is described as a printer, was evidently something besides. In the Fabric Rolls of York Minster, printed by the Surtees Society, is the following record:—

"29, November, 1515.—*Ursino Mylner pro ligacione librorum in choro et pictione rubicæ archæ sub ymagine B.M. pro elemosinis ad fabricam recipiendis 49s. 4d.: pro iij quart les auri pro deauracione j stellæ super ymaginem B.M. et cuidam pictori pro pictione et deauracione ejusdem stellæ 6/8.*"

"*Pro ligacione*" in regard to the choir books may have had relation to a printer's allied calling of book-binding, and may well have had to do with some form of repairs; but "*et pictione*" would appear to

inform you. Item I giff to the said Mr. Wynkyn xls. which I howght him." A curious circumstance is that nothing is known of any Richard Watterson, a stationer or printer in London, but a Henry Watson was at one time an apprentice to Wynkyn. Further, in the Bagford MS. Collection in the British Museum is an entry, apparently copied from a colophon: "*Donatus cum Remigio impressus Londiniis juxta Charing Cross per me Hugonem Goes and Henery Watson with the printers device H.G.*" Though Ames says Goes "printed a Latin Grammar in London in quarto, formerly among Lord Oxford's books," it is likely he was merely referring to Bagford's entry—the Bagford MS. was originally bought by Lord Oxford, and certainly no trace of the book now exists. Is it possible that not only Watson but Goes also was an apprentice of Wynkyn's, and that this Grammar was an early journeyman effort of theirs, followed by Goes' return to his native Yorkshire, to place his craftsmanship at the service of the ecclesiastical authorities first in Beverley and then in York? Such a theory fits in with most of the known facts about Goes: *e.g.*, his association with Watson, his possession of Wynkyn's discarded fount, and the conjunction of his Grammar and his *Accidence* with the Wynkyn Grammar noted by Christopher Hildyard.

imply more than giving a coat of paint to the alms box, and the re-gilding of the stars above the image of the Virgin Mary with three-quarters of a book of gold-leaf also suggests that ideas of decoration were something in Ursyn Mylner's way. At all events, it strengthens the theory that there would be nothing unusual in turning to a printer to assist in the decoration of the Lodge at Christ's College.

In later years the paper-stainer, as we shall see, had a good deal of affinity with the stationer; but in the beginning the production of decorated paper had probably more to do with the letterpress-printer than could now be established. When, however, multicolour effects began to displace the original simple black designs, those who practised the craft found more in common with the painters, who had first been organised as a Guild in 1283, and received a grant of arms in 1486. The "Paynters" and the "Stayners" became fused as the Paynter-Stainers' Guild in 1500, and in 1581 received their first Charter from Queen Elizabeth.

OTHER EARLY SPECIMENS

In an "Inventory taken at the Monasterye of S. Syxborough, in the Ile of Shepey, in the Countie of Kent, by Syr Thomas Cheney, Sir William Hawle, knyghts, and Antony SentLeger, esquier, the xxvii day of Marche, in the xxvij^{the} yere of our Sovereigne Lorde Kyng Henry the viij of the goods and catall belonging to the sayde Monasterye," appears what is probably the earliest actual reference to paper-hangings, and as it dates back to 1536 it takes rank chronologically as second only to the Christ's College specimen (though all trace of its substance has long since disappeared—swept away, no doubt, at the Dissolution of the Monasteries).

In the nuns' chambers are named many "hangynes of paynted cloth"—in Dame Agnes Browne's chamber they are included in "stuff given her by her frends," and in the Greate Chamber in the Dorter (dormitory) as "stuff belonging to Dame Agnes Davye which she browghte with her," but in Dame Margaret [. . .]ockes' chamber the contents include " the chamber hangyng of paynted papers."

Some of the other examples of 16th century wallpaper brought to notice in this country about a quarter of a century ago, and which played their part in stimulating research on the subject, are sufficiently interesting to call for notice at this point. One (Plate 5) is preserved in the

Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, and is clearly a Tudor paper printed from a wooden block. It was found adhering to the original wattle and daub in an old house at Besford Court, Worcestershire, and it has also appeared as the lining to an oak chest from Bristol, of the latter half of the 16th century, as well as lining a deed-box at the Public Record Office in London. It is on a buff ground, and is printed in black, as were all the early papers. In its profusion of detail, it suggests that the art of producing blocks of this character had reached a fairly high degree of execution.

The Royal Arms of England, appearing in the oval lozenges, are ingeniously alternated with Tudor roses in rectangular frames, the intervening spaces being filled with typically-florid Renaissance detail. A date somewhere about 1550-1575 is assigned to this paper. At all events, it was prior to the accession of James I, as the Scottish arms do not appear in the escutcheon. A variant of the same design was recently found lining another deed-box at the Public Record Office. Though some of the detail and the lettering are different, it is evident one was taken as a model for the other, as the main elements of the pattern fit exactly at the side. (Other Tudor and Jacobean papers of the same type are referred to in page 23).

In 1896, during the restoration of a 15th century timber-built house in the village of Borden, near Sittingbourne, Kent, known as Borden Hall, or the Parsonage Farm, were found fragments of two papers (see Plates 13, 14, and 15) which, owing to the fact that in one case the walls had been battened, and in the other re-plastered, in Georgian days, had happily been preserved sufficiently to show their nature.

One found in the oldest part of the house, the solar or sleeping apartment, on the first floor, had been nailed to the plaster inter-spaces with large flat-headed nails, and the pattern continued by hand over the timber uprights. It was printed in black on a Turkey-red distempered ground, and was a small foliage pattern with wavy stalks and bright jade-green or turquoise-blue flowers.

The date, 1570-1600, assigned to this paper in the research that followed its discovery has been challenged in some quarters on three main grounds. First, that polychrome effects were not attempted in Tudor times, next that the original theory that it was Indian in feeling and had probably been printed from blocks cut for textile designs rendered so early a date

extremely improbable, and thirdly, that the "register" was much too good for the period.

In favour of the early date are the character of the paper, which was very coarse and hairy, something like sugar-paper, backed by canvas, and the method of its application to the wall. Crude polychrome effects by means of stencil-work have now been traced back to a date approximating to that first mentioned. Far from having an affinity to Indian decoration, it had much more in common with the "domino" papers, described later, in that not only was the pattern small in scale, but the paper carried a black line selvedge like some of the early foreign papers of that kind. As to the question of "register," criticism has been based on a "restored" representation prepared for the purpose of having the design reproduced, where naturally the crudeness of the original was toned down. It seems likely, therefore, that the paper is as old as has been claimed.

The second paper was undoubtedly of later date and of native production. It, too, was found on the first floor, but not in the oldest part of the house. It showed a larger flower pattern of freer design; apparently early 17th century work. It was letterpress-printed in black on white paper, with a crudely hatched ground, and the flowers roughly coloured in vermilion by stencil. The paper was of a kind similar to that used in many undoubted 17th century specimens. Further evidence of its date was that it had been pasted on continuous plaster. The wall afterwards had been re-plastered over the paper, thus preserving it in good condition. Unfortunately, the fragments of both papers have since disappeared, though at the time of their discovery by Philip Johnston, F.S.A., in the course of restoration work at the house, they were fully described and illustrated by Lindsay P. Butterfield in *The Artist* for Sept.-Dec., 1898.

The earliest method of hanging wallpapers, by nailing the coarse papers, either direct or mounted on canvas, to the plaster, was later superseded by the practice of pasting either the paper or the canvas backing to the plaster, or nailing it to battens.

An old wallpaper dealer, Joseph Pearson, of Whitehaven, used to recall that his employer had a large piece of wallpaper torn from a wall in an old mansion in the neighbourhood, that was being repaired about 1786, and it was supposed by the owner to have been on the wall about

200 years. "I recollect examining this," he would say, "and it appeared almost as thick as cardboard. It had been put on the wall in sheets and a thick dark substance like varnish had been used instead of paste. It was very rudely done in pattern; the stalks and branches, some of the leaves and part of the flowers in bouquets were stencilled, but all were finished by hand." (The canvas backing appears to have quite gone out of use towards the end of the 18th century. Mrs. Delany, of whom more hereafter, writing in 1750, says:—"When you put up paper the best way is to have it pasted on the bare wall; when lined with canvas it always shrinks from the edges.")

GENERAL UTILITY PAPERS

To the discoveries of such papers as have just been described is due to a considerable degree the clearing up of part of the obscurity surrounding the early history of paper-hangings in this country. They threw new light on the occurrence and manifold purpose of certain papers bearing letterpress-printed designs, obviously of an early date, found in old deed-boxes, chests, and charter boxes, and occasionally brought to light on the walls of old houses. Many of the designs were of such a nature as to preclude the idea that they were produced only with the object of lining boxes or even cupboards, or forming the end-pieces of covers of books. Evidently, they were for decorative purposes on a larger scale; in fact, they were for wall-hangings. In others the diaper character of the patterns was what might have been expected if the paper had been intended for the purpose for which it was actually used, namely, to line a small box or cover a book. The discoveries also led to more intensive search for other specimens, and not without success. Hilary Jenkinson, M.A., F.S.A., of the Public Record Office, London, whose expert knowledge was consulted in the matter of identifying the Proclamations on the back of the Cambridge fragments, made systematic examination of the old deed-boxes at the Record Office, and was fortunate enough to find specimens of linings going back to the 16th century, and others which can definitely be fixed as belonging to the first half of the 17th century. The "repeating" character of the pattern of several was such that it was evident they were intended to cover a considerable space.

The charter boxes belonging to various Livery Companies, preserved at the London Guildhall, going back in many cases to the time of the Stuarts, include one lined with a typical black-and-white diaper pattern

(see Plate 10)—also discovered lining a box at the Public Record Office, dated 1615—but most of them are lined with “marble” paper (see Plate 11). It should be stated that while the diaper paper is clearly of domestic manufacture, the “marble” papers were probably imported. It was not until the middle of the 18th century, when English “marblers” began to equal the foreign production in quality, that much was used except from Continental sources. Indeed, the pieced condition of some of the “marble” paper in these boxes gives colour to the tradition that it was brought from Holland as the wrapping for packages containing tea or toys, and in this way escaped the heavy customs duty.

At the Stationers’ Hall, London, the charter box is lined with a paper which is particularly interesting, because the design is in three colours (see Plate 12). The outline in black with square pin-hatching in places was evidently printed from a coarsely-cut wood-engraving, and the other two colours—a green on the leaves, now faded to a very faint yellow, and presumably a red or blue on the flowers, now faded to a mauve-grey—were crudely blotched in, probably through a stencil. The “register” is extremely elementary. The paper is in sheets joined to the repeat of the design, and there is every reason to believe that it was an attempt at a decorative paper for walls as well as for box linings. The original Charter box perished in the Great Fire, and this is its successor, dated about 1670 or 1680, but whether an attempt was made to reproduce the old lining is doubtful; probably not. At all events it is confirmation of the fact that from an early date multi-colour effects were attempted, with letterpress-printed designs as a basis.

At the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford are preserved two characteristic English lining-papers (see Plates 8 and 9) which, judging from the “repeating” character of the designs, were both intended to be used as paper-hangings. One comes from a box dated 1615, and shows a delightful arrangement in true native feeling of flowers and leaves, including columbines, heartsease, honeysuckle, oak leaves, and acorns. This specimen is specially interesting because it lines a box containing one of the deeds with which Camden endowed a history professorship at Oxford, an act which he executed in 1622.*

* In view of the high artistic merit of this paper, it is not without significance that Camden (1551-1623) was the son of Sampson Camden, of Lichfield, who early went to London to follow his calling of painter, and was a member of the Guild of Paynter-Stainers. There is nothing far-fetched in the notion that, from hereditary association with art, William Camden took a personal interest in the style of receptacle to contain the deeds of his endowment.

The other embodies motifs from the fruit garden, such as strawberries, raspberries, and gooseberries, with butterflies, caterpillars, and snails worked into the design, possibly to give a touch of greater realism.

Both were printed from wood-cut blocks in what appears to be direct imitation of embroidery of the period. Our country-women have always been famous "needlers," and it is noteworthy that the different types of stitches used to give a varying texture or tonal value to the objects represented, and so compensate for the absence of colour, have been faithfully reproduced.

Another type, a figure specimen, from a chest of drawers in Lord Leverhulme's possession, is also illustrated (see Plate 17). It probably dates from later in the 17th century, and depicts somewhat artlessly a lady sitting on an upturned basket fishing in a pond or a stream in front of a house. Of about the same period is the coarsely-executed canvas hanging (Plate 16), from the Victoria and Albert Museum, which appears to be in honour of Charles II and his Queen, with (presumably) a symbolic reference to the Boscobel oak, in which Charles found refuge after the Battle of Worcester.

These typical papers of Tudor and Jacobean origin, which have been described in the last few pages, were invariably on sheets of about 14 to 16 inches by about 11 inches, which appears to have been the most convenient size for paper-making—and it is interesting to note that when two were joined side by side in order to show the "repeat" of the pattern, this is a width that approximately has persisted for paper-hangings to this day.

Of the fitness and obvious design of most of these specimens for the decoration of rooms there is abundant evidence. But from the fact that some of them, however clearly intended by the designer for wall-hangings, were used for other purposes, they may be described as "general utility papers." Considering how difficult it is to find surviving specimens of paper-hangings of a much later date, when production is known to have attained considerable proportions, the number of examples of this earlier period which have come to light is evidence that the practice of decorating rooms with patterned paper was fairly widespread even in Tudor times. The discovery of the same design in so widely separated parts of the country as the Midlands, the North, the West of England, and London, is further testimony on this point.

But even more noteworthy, as well as being confirmation of a well-established craft, is the high standard of the productions. Elaborate designs crowded with detail like that in Plate 5, which moreover were stamped with an unmistakeably native character, would not have been possible but for the existence of a school of art-craftsmen in this country at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, which was both practised and self-developed enough to strike out on lines of its own. The handling of the *motifs* in the honeysuckle and columbine pattern (Plate 8) is masterly. The decorative treatment of the flower-forms, the ingenuity of the "repeat," and the rhythm of the design are such as a modern designer might be proud to have worked out. They suggest that the craft had reached a point of achievement which the paucity of surviving examples very inadequately explains.

It is not surprising that the execution of patterns printed in one colour (usually black) is in contrast to the feeble results which marked the earliest attempts at multicolour effects. It derived from the long-established technique of the letterpress printer. One can well imagine that the practitioners in the craft took the greatest pride in achieving the varied tonal values which they gave to their monochrome patterns, like those in Plates 8 and 9 (which in turn were close imitations of recognised embroidery conventions). In comparison the early tentative efforts by hand-block, reinforced with brush-work, either by hand or through a stencil plate, were decidedly crude.

Even in such an ambitious effort as the old fragment of wallpaper from the Maid's Head Hotel* at Norwich, now in the Castle Museum, Norwich (illustrated in Plate 18), the result is interesting archæologically rather than from any other point of view. The design is of a type—the anecdotal or "scenic"—of which no such definite specimen of English production had previously been discovered.

This particular example illustrates a deer hunt, and measures from the top to the bottom edge exactly $16\frac{3}{4}$ inches. There is no suggestion of a "repeat," either in the width or height, but in some twenty or thirty other fragments of the same paper pieced together and preserved at the Maid's Head is to be seen the full train of huntsmen, hounds, and stag.

* The Maid's Head is a very ancient hostelry, and is mentioned in the Paston Letters. Writing in November, 1472, to Margaret Paston, respecting an intended visitor, Sir John Paston says:—

"I praye you make him goode cheer, and iff it be so that he tarye . . . it were best to sette his horse at the Mayde's Hedde Hotel, and I shall be content for their expenses."

These fragments measure four feet horizontally, and still do not "repeat." The paper appears to have been made up originally of sheets 18 inches by 20 inches.

The colouring of the Museum fragment is well preserved and in its way rather unusual. The outline is in black, the foliage, huntsmen's coats, and other details in a brilliant green, whilst the horses and the tree-trunks have been treated with a colour which has now become a washy brown. The paper is thick and coarse, with a buff ground. The figures are quite small, about 8 or 9 inches in height, and the registering of the colours is, on the whole, good. As there is no Excise stamp on the back it looks as if the paper can be dated before 1712, when wallpapers began to be taxed. Colonel J. R. Harvey, in his "Deer Hunting in Norfolk" (Norwich, 1910), describes how this old paper was found, hidden by successive layers of more recent papers, during restoration work at the hostelry, about 1890, and he attributes it to round 1700 on account of it representing the dress of that period.

16TH AND 17TH CENTURY PAPERS CLASSIFIED

We have referred to the fact that it is only within recent years—dating back no further than the finding *in situ* of the Borden Hall, the Besford Court, and the Cambridge fragments—that much has been done to clear up the obscurity surrounding the character and extent of the earliest wallpapers. Hilary Jenkinson's researches, principally among public archives, of which mention has been made, have already yielded valuable results, though, as he himself emphasised in a paper on the subject which he delivered before the Society of Antiquaries on February 26th, 1925, it is likely, now that attention has been called to a fresh field of investigation, even more important discoveries may be made at any moment through the examination of material in private possession hitherto overlooked. It is with the object of encouraging such examination that Mr. Jenkinson has kindly given the present writers permission to compile the appended summary of 16th and 17th century decorated papers described by him in the lecture referred to, or that have since come to his notice. (It will be noted that the list preserves a rough form of classification):

THE OLDEST ACTUAL PAPER

Christ's College, Cambridge, fragments (illustrated in Plates 1, 2, and 3).
Date, 1509. (This stands alone in design and date).

ELIZABETHAN AND LATER WALLPAPERS

(a) *Armorial*.

Besford Court armorial paper, Tudor design (illustrated in Plate 5). Date, approx. 1550-75. Also found lining a chest at Bristol and a deed-box at the Public Record Office, London. A variant showing the substitution of the St. George's emblem and some curious supporters, with a difference in the lettering, but with the main objects fitting exactly on both sides also exists in the Record Office Museum side by side with its fellow. [Two papers of the same period and style lining a chest belonging to A. T. Bartholomew, of Cambridge].

[Another, believed to date from about 1540, bearing the device of Anne Boleyn, in a cupboard at Howbridge Hall, Witham, Essex].

Jacobean armorial design, combined with floral decoration showing "stitch" effect, from a Court of Wards deed-box (No. 42) at the Record Office (Plate 6).

Carolean armorial design, illustrated in the late Edwin Foley's "Decorative Furniture," with the initials "C.R.," but also showing floral decoration in "stitch" work.

Two other Court of Wards boxes (Nos. 5B and 83D), at the Record Office, containing armorial fragments (probably Jacobean), showing the same decorative treatment of fruit, one introducing the emblem of St. George again and the other showing a variant of the mask seen in Plate 5.

(b) *Floral*.

Floral design with interlaced strapwork from a box containing a licence to alienate in mortmain, dated 1615, in the Oxford University Archives (Plate 7).

Two floral designs, with "stitchwork" hatching, from deed-boxes in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (illustrated in Plates 8 and 9). Both date from about 1615. (One lines a box containing one of the deeds in which Camden endowed his history professorship).

Formal floral specimen from Court of Wards deed-box (No. 146s) at the Record Office (date *ante* 1645). [Two other specimens are at Abbot's Hospital, Guildford, together with a third, showing stencilled colour effects (date about 1643).]

(c) *Formal*.

A conventional design showing strapwork, a Medusa mask, and the Royal cypher, "E.R." (Elizabeth), at the Record Office (Court of Wards, box 32). (Plate 4).

[Another paper with similar interlaced strap-work, at Cambridge, as above].

BOOK COVERS

Three book covers in the Dept. of Engraving at the Victoria and Albert Museum, printed on gray paper, two in scarlet and one in

black ink. Two contain the Royal cyphers of James I and of his eldest son, Prince Henry (who died before him). The third shows a winged dragon repeated in a series of contiguous small circles. All three had evidently been used as covers for churchwardens' books (probably accounts). Dates, 1608-1616.

LINING PAPERS

Self-contained non-"repeating" design showing the arms of the Haberdashers' Company, with human figures at each side and a decoration of check pattern, used as a box lining. Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Dept. of Engraving). Date, early 17th century.

Picture of Charles II and his Queen, lining a chest of drawers at Sulgrave Manor, near Banbury.

A somewhat similar design lining a deed-box belonging to the town of Evesham, containing portraits of Charles I and Charles II and their Queens, the Duke of York and the Duke of Albemarle.

[A similar loyal effort, on a canvas hanging, with portraits of Charles II and his Queen, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum (illustrated in Plate 16)].

Paper lining a deed-box among the Chancery Masters' exhibits (Master Richards, bundle 153) at the Record Office, showing a lion, a bird, flowers, etc. Date, approx. 1667. Four somewhat similar specimens, which have now disappeared, were formerly kept in the crypt at Canterbury, one of which had on it a workman's account dated 1621.

Figure design from a chest of drawers in the late Lord Leverhulme's collection (illustrated in Plate 17). Date, 17th century.

Another figure design, with a suggestion of Chinoiserie, lining a box belonging to H. H. Bellot.

DIAPER OR SMALL PATTERN PAPERS

Diaper pattern of Tudor roses in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Dept. of Design).

Diaper pattern of roses, alternating with vases of other flowers, found in four places: the Public Record Office, the British Museum (Additional Charters, 6293), Lambeth Library, and the Archives of Bewdley.

Black and white check pattern underlying a Jacobean fragment in a deed-box of the Court of Wards.

Another geometrical diaper pattern decorating a large box among the Chancery Masters' Papers at the Record Office. Printed on the back of an Act dated 1650, and box being dated (in nails on the lid) 1655. This pattern also lines the charter box belonging to the Plumbers' Company, now in the London Guildhall Library

(illustrated in Plate 10). [Under the Record Office copy was found a snippet of another paper, too small for the pattern to be identified, but large enough to show it was printed on another Act of similar date].

Borden Hall specimens (illustrated in Plates 13, 14, and 15). Dates approx. 1600 and 1680 respectively.

COLOURED PAPERS

(a) *Stencil Colour on Black Printed Pattern.*

Multicolour paper lining the charter box belonging to the Stationers' Company, now at Stationers' Hall. Date, approx. 1684. (Illustrated in Plate 12).

Triangular oak box belonging to Colonel Croft Lyons, F.S.A., showing horizontal lines of flowers and other devices (a cock, a mermaid, a camel, and so forth) alternating with moralities from the Scriptures. (Multicolour). Dating, from a device of Prince of Wales' feathers and the initials C.P., to the reign of James I or Charles I.

Coloured "all-over" pattern consisting of circles and squares, in pink and green, or pink and orange (both varieties exist), with yellow "dabs," from the Court of Wards, Public Record Office (*ante* 1645). (Plate 20). [A somewhat similar paper in pink and green, with yellow spots, has been found at the Public Record Office covering a Dutch ship's book, dated 1779].

Coloured hunting scene, found *in situ* at the Maid's Head Hotel, Norwich. A piece is preserved at the Norwich Museum (Plate 18).

A pictorial fragment, with Chinoiserie effects, in private possession at Uppingham.

(b) *Printed in Colour (Printers' Ink).*

Four multicolour patterns, printed in oil colours, used for covering certain Admiralty-muster rolls (Series I, Nos. 1,669-1,671, 1,745, 1,746), now at the Record Office (one illustrated in Plate 47). Date, approx. 1740.

(c) *Printed in Distemper.*

Distemper multicolour paper, covering the captain's log of the sloop "Jamaica," now at the Public Record Office (Admiralty, 51/3874) (illustrated in Plate 48). Date, approx. 1760.

Distemper coloured paper in black, white and grey, on a yellow ground, covering a captured American ship's book. Date, 1767.

EARLY LETTERPRESS INFLUENCE

As already indicated, the early letterpress printers, not only in this country, but on the Continent, contributed a good deal to the evolution of wallpaper, possibly as a secondary product as time, occasional demand, or

caprice suggested. John Bagford,* in his unfinished MS. on the "History of Printing," now preserved in the British Museum, has an interesting note on the origin of letterpress printing (circa 1430), to the effect that :—

" . . . we are assured that at Mentz,† Faust and Scheffer, his servant, made a great progress and proficiency in cutting wood, for Salmuth informs us in his *Pancirollus* that when people came to see and be informed in ye art of printing, that Faust or those who were his working servants took down ye molds which they made their books with, they being hung on string on ye side of ye wall in an outer room, and with these they shewed the mystery and art of printing, and this we have reason to believe lasted until about the year 1450, and still continueth to this day, tho' much more in use in ye former days, as may be seen by some remains, 'The Judgement of Solomon,' 'Keep within Compass,' 'The Prodigal Son,' and 'Raking Father,' with many others too long to inserte, for the printing of Hangings for rooms and closets on Paper, Hat Cases, Band Boxes, Trunk Linings."

Bagford, though assiduous to a fault, was not too particular in regard to unities of time and place, nor apparently, did he always verify his references, for in the English edition of *Pancirollus*' "History of Many Memorable Things, etc." published by John Nicholson, in Little Britain, in 1715, with commentaries by Salmuth (which presumably was Bagford's source of information), while many interesting achievements are attributed to Fust and Schœffer, there is no mention of their "molds" or how they used them. It is, nevertheless, probable that Bagford was not altogether incorrect in his statement, and that he was putting on record a well-founded tradition, dating back to the xlyographic reproductions in the block-books (as described in page 10), even earlier than the days of Fust and Schœffer (who, because of their early business association

* Bagford was born in 1650 and was a Londoner whose achievements have earned approval and reprobation in almost equal measure. "Shoemaker and Biblioclast" is the epithet applied to him in the Dictionary of National Biography, and not without reason. Like many others of his calling, he had a taste for literature and general information, and collecting became with him a devastating passion. For what are called the "Bagford Ballads" antiquaries and lovers of old English verse feel the utmost gratitude to him for having rescued from oblivion so many curious broadside ditties; for his other collection, running to sixty-four volumes folio, consisting chiefly of title-pages and other fragments torn from books, he has gained the emphatic maledictions of all who object to the mutilation of books. "He was," said Dibdin, "the most hungry and rapacious of all book and print collectors, and in his rage spared neither the most delicate nor the most costly specimens." His idea was to amass material for a history of printing, a task for which he was probably incompetent, though he was diligent and well-meaning and had considerable knowledge of printing and binding. He was one of the revivers of the Society of Antiquaries. In his later days he fell into poor circumstances, and died in the Charter House in 1716. His collections were acquired by the Earl of Oxford, and now form part of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum.

† The starting at Mainz of the first paper manufactory in Germany in about 1320 had, no doubt, its effect in locating there activities which led first to the production of "block-books" and afterwards to the invention of movable printing types.

with Gutenberg, have undeservedly shared in some quarters credit for the invention of printing with types). In stating that the practice described "still continueth to this day," Bagford was on even sounder ground, for apart from the type of papers just referred to, there was a considerable vogue for printed designs of exactly the same kinds as those he names.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford is "A Catalogue of Plates and Pictures that are painted and sould by Peter Stent dwelling at the Signe of the White Horse in Guilt Spur Street, betwixt Newgate and Py Corner" (about 1660). The catalogue refers to "Books for Drafts of Men, Birds, Beasts, Flowers, Fruits, Flyes, Fishes," and among pictures in sheets and half-sheets he offers "The Four Seasons of the Yeare," "The Five Senses," "The Four Quarters of the World," "The King, Queen, and Children," "Abraham Offering Izak," "Adam and Eve," and so on.

In another catalogue of Stent's (dated 1662) are sheets of stories, including "Susanna and the Elders," "Adam and Eve," "Abraham Offering Isaac," "Moses Lifting up the Serpent in the Wilderness." They were ostensibly designs for embroidery, but the similarity in type of subject to Bagford's list is significant, as is also the appearance in other contemporary pattern-books of designs for conventionalised flowers, carnations, thistles, acorn and oak leaves, caterpillars, and butterflies, treated with just the same kind of diverse stitching effect, as is seen in the Ashmolean and other floral specimens.

"DOMINO" PAPERS

The papers we have been describing were, for the most part, reproductions, usually in black (though, as we have seen, later aiming at polychrome effects), of xylographic patterns, either by means of an ordinary printing press, or some similar method of transferring the design to paper. They had much in common with what are known as "domino" papers, the term by which a similar "general utility" decorated paper was known on the Continent. In France, "domino" papers are regarded as the real forbears of paper-hangings, and there, at all events, a good case could be made out for their having been the original stock on which all subsequent varieties, whether "flock," hand-blocked, or stencilled, were subsequently grafted. In England, the course of development was somewhat different. The "domino" paper proper was more

or less an exotic here, but it is interesting all the same to consider how it played its part in the evolution of paper-hangings.

"Domino" papers were originally imported into Europe, it is believed, from Persia, and, like the first English papers, were used equally for end-pieces and coverings of books, for lining boxes and cupboards, and for adorning the walls of cottages. Italy has the honour of being regarded as the European home of "domino" papers, and when the French took them up, as they did with some enthusiasm, they borrowed the Italian name.*

"Domino" papers were usually small— $16\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $12\frac{1}{2}$ in.†—and all the earliest were "marbled" (like that in Plate 11). These marbled "domino" papers were quite distinct from the hand-coloured imitations of marble (see Plates 49 and 50), which later came into existence and are still in occasional demand for wall decoration. They presented rather the effects seen in the end-pieces and on the edges of ledgers and many other books, and were produced by exactly the same method as the modern book-marbler follows. Colours were floated on a shallow wooden tray containing dilute "gum dragon," then stroked and "whirled" with small sticks and combs into fantastic patterns, while blobs and splashes of other colours were dropped or "spirted" haphazard on the final film, in order to give as variegated an effect as possible. Then, carefully laying a sheet of paper on the surface, the pattern was picked up, and afterwards allowed to dry, being finally faced with transparent wax and polished with a marble or agate rubber.

Francis Bacon, in his "Natural History" (1623), describes the method as follows:—

"The Turks have a pretty art of chambletting paper which is not in use with us. They take divers oiled colours and put them severally (in drops) upon water and stir the water lightly and then wet their paper (being of some thickness) with it and the paper will be waved or veined like Chamblet or marble."

It is not difficult to realise how such an easy method of producing a pleasing effect in colour, requiring no draughtsmanship and only the simplest "plant" and a little manual dexterity, commended itself to craftsmen who had to work with the primitive appliances of the time.‡

* The exact meaning of the word is obscure. Originally a "domino" was the little cape worn by a priest in winter, and later the word probably came to mean any kind of covering.

† Note the approximation in size to the early English papers.

‡ As already stated, the process was not taken up to any great extent in this country until the 18th century, and Evelyn thought it sufficiently interesting to read a paper on it in 1661 to the Royal Society, which still has the paper in its possession.

Even cruder were the “scratted” papers, where various colours were “spirted” in small spots and dots direct from a brush on to the paper—a simpler process, giving results much less lively than the “floated” colour method.

In course of time the “dominotiers” began to make other types than the original marbled “dominos,” and in 1586 there was formed in Paris a Guild of *Dominotiers, Tapissiers, et Imagiers*. Seeing that the makers of woven tapestries had their own Guild, it is almost certain that these *Tapissiers* (or tapestry makers) were concerned with the production of designs on paper to imitate woven effects, and there came into existence a style consisting of small “all-over” floral or diaper designs. These were printed on small hand-presses from blocks of pear-tree wood, with the design cut in relief. From the *Imagiers* came small pictures (“images”), Biblical or mythological scenes, or even landscapes, also printed from blocks, and sometimes finished by hand in distemper or in oil colours, or even gold-size.

One outstanding feature of “domino” papers was that not only were the patterns small—each sheet was complete in itself and there was no attempt, at least in the earliest papers, to obtain a “repeat,” except so far as that came about as the result of an “all-over” design.

The dominotiers aroused the jealousy of the letterpress printers, who were powerful enough to have exacting restrictions imposed on the newcomers. By Article 61 of the French Law of 1686, which confirmed those of 1586, 1618, and 1649, the Syndics of the Guild of Printers were empowered to visit the workshops of the dominotiers and to confiscate any of their works which trespassed upon the domain of printing paper. For instance, the dominotiers were limited as to the size of their sheets, and they were not allowed to use presses of the same kind as those employed for printing type. A further restriction was that dominotiers were not allowed to use letterpress type, but all lettering, whether the title of the work or any suitable motto, had to be added by the letterpress printers after the picture had been completed—unless it was cut in the original block.

The “*Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné*” (*des Sciences, des Arts, et des Métiers*), 1765, has the following definitions:—

DOMINO: A paper on which the tracing, designs, or figures are first printed with clumsily-made wooden blocks. The colours are put on afterwards by means of a patron or stencil, as

in the case of making playing-cards.* Domino papers are made particularly at Rouen and in other provincial towns. They are used only by peasants who buy them to decorate the upper part of their fireplaces. Dominos are inartistic, badly drawn, and still more badly decorated in harsh colours.

DOMINOTIER: One who makes dominos, marble papers and self-toned grounded papers. (See Marbler).

MARBLER ON PAPER: One who paints or rather stains the surface of the paper with different colours—symmetrically or irregularly disposed, as the case may be—thus producing the effect of marble. In the hands of a skilled workman with a little artistic taste, employing good materials and colours, very pleasing effects are obtained.

Bought by country people and small tradesmen, “domino” papers enjoyed widespread popularity, especially in France, and it is recorded that towards the end of the 17th century there was hardly a house in Paris, however magnificent, that had not some room adorned with “domino” paper.

Many examples of “domino” and lining papers—it is difficult to discriminate—are to be seen both at the British Museum and at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Some are of Dutch or Italian origin; some are obviously English; and equally obviously some were intended for more than end-papers or book-covers. One design resembles in every respect a modern striped bedroom paper. Typical specimens are shown in Plates 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23. Plates 21 and 22 illustrate very clearly how patterned papers were used for making book sheaths. The pictorial design in Plate 23 shows a considerable advance in technique, and is undoubtedly of a later period.

“FLOCK” PAPER

About the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, gradually came into vogue a style of wallpaper which from its treatment had more durable qualities than either the letterpress-printed or the stencilled types, which were undoubtedly the earliest.

This was “flock,” or, as the French called it, “*papier tonture*” or “*papier tontisse*” (shorn paper) or “*papier velouté*” (velvet paper).

* It is of interest to note that among the collection of old playing-cards at the London Guildhall is a set of 36 cards of the usual German type, printed at Ulm in the second half of the 16th century. It consists of two sheets, 18 designs on each, just as they were printed and before being cut. The back of each sheet is covered with a small diaper pattern suitable for its purpose; when the sheets were cut up to form a complete pack the pattern would be so distributed over the back of each card as to afford no indication of its value to anyone but the holder taking part in the game. Not the least interesting feature, as it supports the connection claimed on the Continent to exist between the manufacture of playing-cards and paper-hangings, is that each sheet, both recto and verso, was printed from a block of the typical “domino” size—16½ in. by 12½ in.

It was produced by printing or drawing on the paper with some adhesive substance, such as varnish, glue, or thick oil, the design it was intended to reproduce. While the impression was still "tacky," wool clipped or "shorn" into the smallest particles, was sprinkled or blown from bellows over the paper (hence the further description sometimes applied—"papier soufflé"). When the varnish or glue was sufficiently dried, the superfluous fibre was removed, leaving the pattern well-defined in the form of a pile-like surface.

Who invented the process is not known. In all probability it evolved, as so many technical processes do, from crude practices. The essential features of "flocking" are of considerable antiquity. Originally it appears to have been a means of making poor cloth look and feel better than it was. The preamble of an Act of Richard III (1483) speaks of:—

"The sellers of such course clothes being bare of threde usen for to powder and cast Flokkys of fynner cloth upon the same."

while in 1541, Act 33, Henry VIII, c. 18 says:—

"Thei shall (not) make or stoppe any maner Kerseies with flockes."

There is, in the Manor House at Saltfleet, Lincolnshire, an old "flock" paper (Plate 25), which in all probability dates back to the third quarter of the 16th century, and would appear to dispose of the claim of priority for François, of Rouen, as the originator of "flock" paper. It is printed on thick white hand-woven paper (in sheets about 22½ in. by 18 in.), and, like those of Borden Hall, the sheets are fastened to the wall with flat-headed copper nails. The design is 28 in. high by 21½ in. wide, and carried out in crimson flock. Not much of the original colour is left, and the flock is worn off in places. The type of design is a floriated gateway of Eastern inspiration, and the best authorities attribute it to Herman Schinkel, of Delft, Holland.

It is interesting to note that with Schinkel is associated one of the oldest known references to wallpaper, as described in a communication to *Notes and Queries* for July, 1856, from James Knowles, as follows:—

Herman Schinkel, M.A., citizen and printer of Delft, belonging to the Reformed Religion, was apprehended A.D. 1568, on a charge of printing and publishing books inimical to the Catholic Faith; for which he was sentenced to death, and suffered in July following. In his examination (as detailed by him in his last and farewell letter to his wife), being interrogated as to certain ballads alleged by his accusers to have been printed at his press, he said they

were printed by his servant in his absence. And: "*Want ick quam t'huys, eer dat sy geleverd waren, ende doe en eoude ick niet gedoogen, date mense leveren sonde, marick schichtesse in een moeck, om roosen en stricken op d'andere zijde te drucken, daer men solders mede bekleet,*" etc. ("When I came home and found they were not delivered, I refused to deliver them, and threw them into a corner, intending to print roses and stripes on the other side, to paper attics with.")*

To Schinkel is also attributed a wall decoration, now at 31, Old Burlington Street, London (Plate 24). This is a design printed in black "flock" on canvas, 30 in. wide, painted over in a buff colour. Two colours have afterwards been applied by hand—a green and an orange in the enclosed portions of the ornament. The colour scheme is clever, as will be seen from the *facsimile* reproduction. This hanging is interesting as confirming the belief that owing to the difficulty of getting paper strong enough for the purpose, "flock" in the beginning was often applied to cloth. If these assignments to Schinkel are sound, they lend colour to the statement by Haydn that "flock" hangings were first made in Spain and Holland, about 1555.

Yet another very early "flock" paper is a panel (Plate 26) from a room at Hurlcote Manor, Easton Neston, Towcester, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. It is a bold, if crude, design carried out in crimson flock. Some authorities have ascribed it to the early 18th century, chiefly on the ground that Chinese influence, which distinctly marks the composition, did not manifest itself in Europe until that period. But our own East India Company (which also traded with China) received its Charter in 1600, and even earlier there was contact with the Far East through the enterprising Portuguese and Dutch traders of the 16th century, who followed the course set by Vasco da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope. In technique and execution this paper suggests a date round 1600, and it quite probably was the work of a paper-stainer who had been impressed by the fantasy of some Oriental decoration that he had seen. Singularly enough, François is stated by some French authorities to have been inspired by specimens brought back from China by missionaries, though it is not unlikely that as the demand for his "sheath" papers grew, he was influenced more by a desire to supply a cheap substitute for the silk fabrics for which Rouen in his day was noted.

* Compare the use to which Goes' spare proclamations were put at Christ's College, Cambridge (page 14).

JEROME LANYER'S LETTERS PATENT

Confirmation of the difficulty that must have been experienced in the beginning in procuring paper strong enough to stand "flocking" is seen in the circumstance, that, in the first Letters Patent in this country in connection with the process, namely, those granted on the 1st May, 1634, by Charles I. to Jerome Lanyer (or Lainier), paper is not referred to. The preamble of the grant reads:—

"Whereas our trusty and welbeloved subiect and servant Jerome Lanyer hath informed us that hee by his endeavours hath found out 'An arte and Misterie by affixinge Wooll, Silke, and other Materialls of divers Cullours, vppon Lynnen, Cloath, Silke, Cotten, Leather, and other Substances with Oyle, Size, and other Ciments, to make them vsefull and serviceable for Hangings and other Occasions,' which hee calleth Londrindiana, and that the saide arte is of his owne invençon, not formerly vsed by anie other within this realme. . . ."

It is hardly likely that if at this period "flocking" of paper had been considered a commercially practicable process, Lanyer would have omitted to mention it in his list of suitable materials. Possibly he thought the term "other substances" would cover any casual use he might make of paper.

There are four things to be noted in connection with this patent of Lanyer's. In the first place, as we have seen, the "said arte" was not of "his owne invençon." In the second, he asked for letters patent for "fowerteene years," and he paid the King £10 a year for the privilege of working his process in London. In the third, his use of the name "Londrindiana" is probably the first recorded instance of an attempt to popularise an article of manufacture by a "branded" name. Lastly, the alternative spelling of his name—Jerome Lainier (Jeromy the Flocker)—making use of the technical term by which the occupation was known in France, suggests that possibly Jeromy was a Huguenot refugee, who had picked up his accomplishment on the other side of the Channel and found that though the practice was not unknown in England, no one had taken the trouble to patent it.

J. Savary des Bruslons in his "*Dictionnaire de Commerce*" (1723) describes how "flock" hangings were at first used in a coarse manner for imitating brocades, and that afterwards tapestry designs were attempted, but not too satisfactorily. The account goes on to describe how the artist, having prepared his design, drew on the cloth, with a fat, oil, or varnish, the subject intended to be represented, and then the "*tapissier lainier*"

(or flocker) from a tray containing the different tints of "flocks," arranged in divisions, took the colours required and sprinkled them in a peculiar manner with his finger and thumb, so that the various shades and colours were properly blended and an imitation of the woven tapestry produced. Most of the early "flock" papers, however, were intended to imitate the ornate Italian velvet brocades, which were prized for their rich appearance, and the pattern was usually impressed on the paper by means of wooden blocks.

A notable set of old "flock" papers (three of which are reproduced in Plates 27, 28, and 29) is to be seen in Christchurch or Withepole House at Ipswich, now used as the local Archæological Museum and Art Gallery.* Dating from 1548, when it was begun by Edmund Withepole, the house passed by marriage during the following century into possession of Viscount Hereford. In 1732 it was sold to Zachary Fonnereau, a wealthy French refugee, in whose family it remained for 130 years.† The papers, which are believed to date from the beginning of the Fonnereau occupation, are extremely ornate and varied in character. In the drawing-room (Plate 28) the paper has a background of pale green, the pattern being carried out in dark reddish-brown flock, with small leaves of deep blue on a ground of pale green. In the State bedrooms are papers which, though both formal, and similar in treatment and manner, are entirely dissimilar in design; these are in dark red flocks on a light cream ground. (One is illustrated in Plate 29). In the corridor (Plate 27) is another pattern, slightly more naturalistic, showing dark blue flowers on a cream ground.

Though patterns printed by letterpress from wood-cut blocks were the oldest of all, presenting one-colour effects based on either the block type of design in damask style or on letterpress-printers' ideas of ornamentation, and though, as we have seen, some attempt was made, not too successfully, to combine this method with hand-applied colour, the present writers would hazard the opinion for what it is worth that "flock" was the real forerunner of colour effects in paper-hangings as we know them to-day. The object aimed at, no doubt, was to satisfy the desire of the gentlefolk and well-to-do tradesfolk to adorn their homes with something comparable to the silk and velvet figured hangings of the nobles.

* J. S. Corder "Christchurch or Withepole House," Ipswich, 1893.

† It is of interest to note that Kate G. Fonnereau, of Ipswich, "inventor and designer," showed an octagon box in imitation of inlaid work, at the Great Exhibition, in London, in 1851

It would be a short step to use the wooden blocks intended for "flock" designs in order to produce patterns in simple pigment, as substitutes for the more elaborate "flock" effects. Thus, from the outline of the pattern being applied by wood-cut blocks and the design brushed in through a stencil, blocks came to be used to supply the body colours of the pattern as well as the outline.

Professor Beckmann, of the University of Gottingen, in his "History of Inventions" (1797), evidently took this view, for he laments that the desire to cheapen the process of making "flock" papers led to the production of ordinary wallpapers, and caused deterioration in quality.

The earliest attempt of any importance in the way of colour effects which we have traced is the design attributed to Schinkel (Plate 24), an obviously costly production, where great care has been used in brushing in the additional colours to the "flock" outline. "Registering" clearly was a difficulty in block work until the pitch-mark on the selvedge was brought into operation, probably in the middle of the 18th century. The "domino" makers do not appear to have been much troubled with "register," their multi-colour designs being mostly geometrical, and thus enabling the various parts of the pattern to be "fitted" with reasonable accuracy.

The Stationers' Hall charter-box paper (Plate 12) is a good illustration of the difficulty. Here, apparently, the colours have been roughly put on through a stencil containing simple holes, with no petals or veins for the flowers and leaves, the result being a blob of flat colour more or less within the black outline. The Borden Hall paper shows a similar lack of precision.

Compare also the "Bird and Fruit" fragment (Plate 45) from the Old Bell Inn, at Sawbridgeworth, Herts., now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which shows equally poor "register." The all-floral design from Ackworth Hall, Yorkshire (Plate 46), dating from 1760, shows considerable advance in execution, but is still very crude.

PROGRESS DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

We have now traced the development of wallpaper from its first rude beginnings to a point where it is seen to be taking stronger and more definite shape. By the end of the 17th century it may be said that though the new craft could by no means be described as supplying a popular demand, there existed all the potentialities of the progress

that was to come. Paper bearing designs, whether press-printed or hand-printed from wood-cut blocks, whether "flocked," stencilled, or hand-painted, or whether produced by a combination of these methods, was beginning to be used in many places where the cost of decorative marble, embossed leather, figured velvet, or tapestry, or painted cloth made those articles too dear to procure.

In a general way it may be said that there had emerged three main branches of paper-hangings which have persisted ever since—one kind imitating figured textiles, such as brocades and damasks, a second imitating non-textile materials, such as marble, wood, leather, etc., and a third imitating pictorial decorations.

At the time we are speaking of, however, the use of wallpaper was restricted. Not only was it, in the eyes of those who could afford the richer materials, an indifferent substitute; it was held back by the slow progress made in the development of paper-making, and probably not less, about the middle of the century, by the distractions of the Civil War, the Commonwealth period, and the Restoration of the Monarchy. The last-named event, it is true, brought with it a luxurious Court, but the great mass of the people had not yet shed the Puritanism which had come into being in the previous century, and their leaning would probably have been by choice, as it was of necessity, to a drab mode of life, so far as externals were concerned.

Tapestry was still being woven for the rich at the Mortlake factory, established by James I, and this was the recognised form of interior decoration, apart from pictures and carving.

Pepys, that most efficient of public servants, most versatile of art-lovers, and most intimate of diarists, tells us a good deal of what were the prevailing fashions among his noble or frivolous friends. After his own worldly position became assured, and he could indulge a taste for beautiful fittings and furniture in his own house, we find him (October 9th, 1667) calling at Hinchinbroke to see Lady Sandwich, wife of his kinsman and old patron, now in disgrace, and he remarks:—

"I do find by my Lady that they are reduced to great straits for money, having been forced to sell her plate, 8 or 900l. worth; and she is now going to sell a suit of her best hangings, of which I could almost wish to buy a piece or two, if the pieces will be broke."

Very different from his thoughts at Audley End, which he, his wife, and the maid Willet had visited only two days before, when "Not one suit of hangings in the house, but all most ancient things, such as I would not give the hanging-up of in my house."

To use an expressive phrase, the best was good enough for Mr. Pepys, and though his wife's closet was hung with "counterfeit damasks" (query, "flock" paper), he must needs get "Dancré,"* the great landscape painter, to take the measure of his dining-room panels and paint him the four Royal palaces of Whitehall, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Windsor; and while the pictures are being painted he goes to "my Lord Bellasses to see a chimney-piece of Dancré's doing in distemper, with egg to keep off the glaring of the light, which I must have done in my room; and, indeed, it is pretty, but I must confess I do think it is not altogether so beautiful as the oyle pictures; but I will have some of one and some of another"; and he also goes to Greenwich Park, "there to see the prospect of the hill, to judge of Dancré's picture which he hath made thereof for me; and I do like it very well, and it is a very pretty place."

This practice of having paintings made to fit the walls had some bearing on the evolution of wallpaper; for it was about the time when Pepys was keeping his Diary that there began to be felt in this country, as in the rest of Europe, a new artistic impulse, destined to leave an ineradicable influence on ideas of design of every kind, but particularly as regards wallpapers.

This was the advent of Chinese wallpapers, which reached this country mainly through Dutch channels,† but also through our own East India traders.

Apart from the superiority of the Chinese wallpapers in rhythm of design and brilliance of colour, they differed from European paper-hangings in that, instead of consisting of a number of small designs which could be made to "repeat," they required the entire wall-space to carry the complete pattern or picture.

The vogue for Chinese papers and their English imitations was not to reach its full development until the next century, but there was sufficient

* Hendrik Danckerts, a famous Dutch artist, who painted a great many topographical pictures for Charles II.

† The Dutch were the most enterprising sea traders of the period, and there was close contact between the Dutch and British Courts through Charles II's long residence at The Hague prior to the Restoration, and his family connections with the Dutch Royal Family.

evidence that its influence was acting like leaven from the first moment it was introduced.

Evelyn (July 13th, 1693) speaks of seeing Queen Mary's treasures, which included "China and Indian cabinets, screens and hangings." Much earlier (June 22nd, 1664), he describes a "collection of rarities" sent from the Jesuits of Japan and China to their Order in Paris, but brought to London for them by the East India ships, and among them were—

"prints of landscapes, their idols, saints, pagods of most ugly serpentine monstrous and hideous shapes, to which they paid devotion; pictures of men and countries, rarely painted on a sort of gummed calico, transparent as glass; flowers, trees, beasts, birds, etc.; excellently wrought in a kind of sleeve silk, very natural."

There was also cloth of gold embroidered "with such lively colours that for splendour and vividness we have nothing in Europe that approaches it."

It is almost certain that the "India Skreens" and "Japan cabinets" of which he speaks at various times were Chinese. In any case, the Chinese wallpapers would provide a splendidly appropriate background for them.

OLD-TIME ADVERTISEMENTS

Before the end of the 17th century we begin to find "Japan and Indian figured paper-hangings" (meaning Chinese) included in contemporary advertisements, along with others of English manufacture, quite as a matter of course.

Bagford may have been unreliable as an historian, and ruthless as a collector in destroying whole bodies of books for the sake of his collection of title-pages, etc.; but his sixty-four folio volumes, mostly of printed specimens, in the British Museum, are witnesses which cannot be refuted.

Two very interesting advertisements from his collection,* reproduced in Plates 32 and 33, are sufficient proof of the growing vogue and variety of paper-hangings, and they bear their own internal evidence of date. George Minnikin's handsome advertisement dates from the time of Charles II (1660-1685), whose head and shoulders, obviously

* Among the actual examples of early wallpapers in the collection is a red block-print of crude design on a black lined underground (apparently engraved), bearing on the selvedge the words "Pater Noster Row in Spittall Fields, nere the Market—Anno 1694, No. 10 & 8."

Several other old-time advertisements or trade cards from other sources are referred to in pages 79, 86, 88, 89, 90 and 91, and reproduced in Plates 41, 42, 43 and 44.

copied from one of Kneller's portraits of the Monarch, Garter and St. George insignia and all, are reproduced as Minnikin's "sign."

The ingenious interlaced cypher and the Royal Arms on the Blue Paper Warehouse's advertisement are undoubtedly those of William and Mary (1688-1702), and this advertisement is additionally interesting for its reference to cheap "counterfeits," its use of a mark of origin, the instructions it gives for putting up paper-hangings, but above all for the miniature sketches illustrating how to make use of the sheets, either with or without borders. It will be seen that the hangings illustrated are distinctly Oriental in design.

Another version of the Blue Paper Warehouse's advertisement, omitting the instructions for use, but retaining the double Royal Crown and interlaced cypher "W.M.," is also preserved in the Bagford collection. The text is reproduced below for the sake of comparison with that illustrated in Plate 33.

"At the Blue-Paper Warehouse in Aldermanbury, London, are sold the True Sorts of Japan and Indian Figured Hangings, in pieces of Twelve Yards long and Half Ell Broad, at 2/6 by the Piece. And another sort of Large Japan and Forest Work, in Pieces of proper Sizes, after the New Mode, of real Tapestry. Also another Sort, in imitation of wainscot, accommodated for Rooms and Stair-Cases; with great variety of Skreens, Chimney-Pieces, Sashes, and other things of Curious Figures.

"The said Hangings, etc., are also sold at the Japan Warehouse near the George & Vulture, in Cornhill.

"The Patentees for making the said Figur'd Hangings (observing the same to be counterfeited upon a thin and common Brown Paper, daub'd over with a slight and superficial Paint) do hereby give Notice, that the said True Sorts may be distinguished from Counterfeits by their Weight, Strength, Thickness and Colour, Dy'd through; and are every way more lasting and serviceable.

"At the same Places are to be sold Blue Sugar Loaf and Royal Purple Paper by the Ream."*

The Blue-Paper Warehouse in Aldermanbury is said to have been opened in 1691. Several of its advertisements, from *The Postman* and elsewhere, still exist, and besides the two versions given in full in these pages,

* This advertisement has a special significance, because it shows that the practice of putting a coloured "ground" on the paper was beginning to be adopted. At first, no doubt, the "ground" was very poorly done, and for that reason the Blue Paper Warehouse vaunted the superiority of its "dy'd through" productions; But half-a-century later the practice had been so far improved as to cause French producers (as described in pages 56 and 57) to envy and try to imitate the effects English paper-stainers achieved by means of distemper "grounds."

is another, dated December 10th, 1702, mentioning, besides the "true sort of Figured Paper-Hangings" and the imitations of Tapestry, "Irish stich," damasks, marbles and wainscots:—

" others in yard-wide embossed work and a curious sort of Flock work in imitation of Caffaws* and other hangings of Curious figures and colours; as also Linnen Cloath, Tapestry Hangings, with a variety of skreens, and chimney-pieces and sashes, the windows as transparent as sarconet."

In the following year another similar advertisement mentions:—

"Imitations of Marbles and other coloured Wainscots which are to be put in Pannels and Mouldings made for the purpose fit for the hangings of Parlours, Dining Rooms and Staircases, and others a yard wide Embossed-work in imitation of Gilded Leather."

An advertisement from *The London Gazette* of August 21st, 1693, is quoted here for the information it gives as to price:—

"At the Warehouse for New-Fashioned Hangings, at the sign of the White Horse and Black Boy in Newgate Street are made and sold strong Paper-Hangings, with fine India-Figures, in pieces about 12 yards long, and half Ell Broad, at threepence and twopence-half-penny and twopence per Yard; also Fine Screens and fine figures for sash windows. And those that will buy to sell again, may have good Encouragement. Divers other things are there to be had. And the above said Paper-Hangings also sold at the Ship near the May Pole in the Strand."

In the Bagford collection is an advertisement of an auction sale on October 25th, 1695, at the Marine Coffee House in Birchin Lane, near Cornhill, of paper of various kinds, including 66½ "peices" of "Japan paper for hangings." The lots were announced in anything from 1 to 5 "peices," and after the first lot appeared the note "1/2d.," as though this might have been the regular price (per yard?).

These advertisements are evidence that in the 17th century paper-hangings were usually printed before being placed *in situ*—as we shall see, this was not an invariable practice—and further, they were sometimes sold in pieces as long as twelve yards and some a yard wide. The component parts of such pieces, of course, were joined together before being printed. But the most interesting feature is the great variety of styles offered for sale.

* Caffaw or caffoy paper was probably an imitation of silk damask. Murray says the word is now obsolete, but that it was a kind of fabric imported in the 18th century and when applied to paper it meant a kind of "flock." Mrs. Delany speaks of her dining-room being "hung with mohair caffoy (a good blue)"; and of a friend who for her work-room has "a pearl-coloured caffoy—the paper is like a damask; pictures look extremely well on that paper." Another definition says the word was "caffa" or "capha," and that it meant a silk stuff, perhaps like damask. It may be the same as the French "*caffas*"—"a kind of coarse taffata." The word was also used to describe a kind of painted cotton cloth made in India.



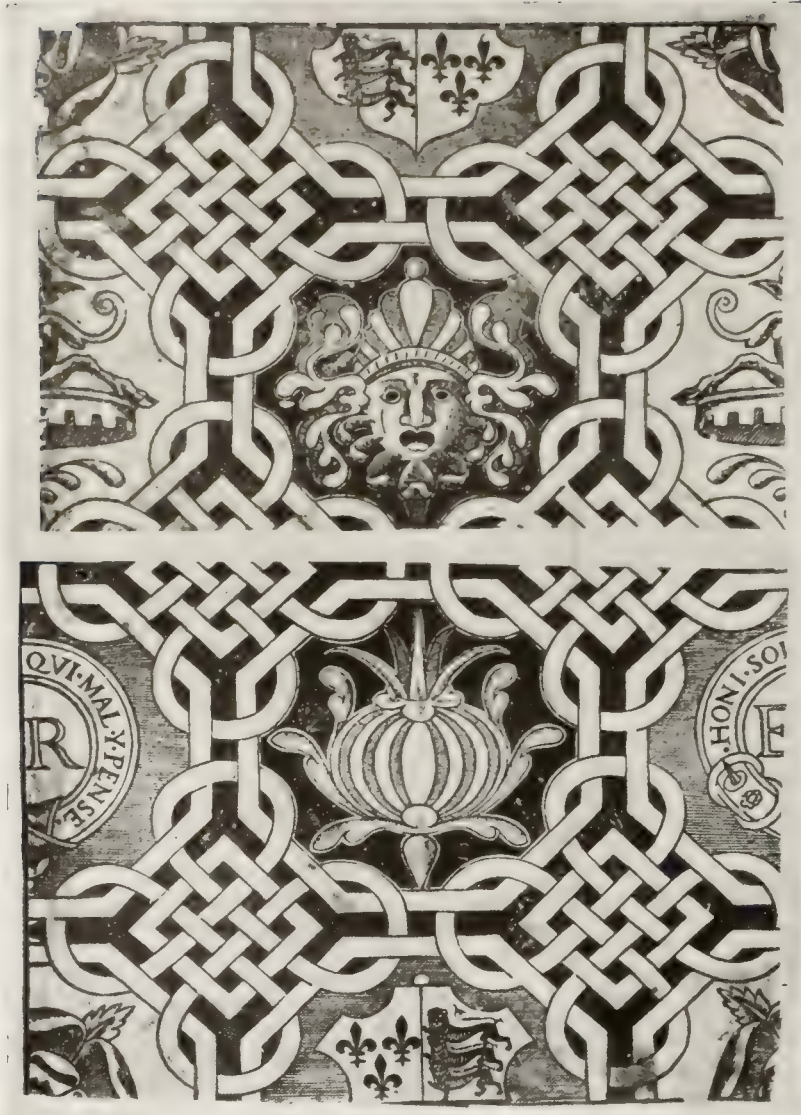
1 & 2. THE OLDEST SURVIVING EUROPEAN WALLPAPER

Fragments of the oldest-known European wallpaper found *in situ*. Discovered in 1911 during restoration work at Christ's College, Cambridge, decorating the beams of the Lodge, where it was placed in 1509. Letterpress-printed by Hugh Goes, of York, whose "rebus" of "a great H and a 'goose'" can be identified at the sides of the pattern. Reduction 1—4. (Permission, Sir Arthur E. Shipley Master of Christ's College).



3. THE CHRIST'S COLLEGE PATTERN RECONSTRUCTED

Reconstruction of the design of the Cambridge paper by Horace Warner. Reduction, 1—3.



4. ELIZABETHAN STRAPWORK DECORATION

Wallpaper used to line a box at the Public Record Office containing Court of Wards deeds. The arms (lacking those of Scotland) and the cypher E.R. fix its date as Elizabethan. The strapwork and mask and the quartered rose at the corners are also typically Tudor. Reduction 1—3. (Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries of London).



5. ELIZABETHAN LETTERPRESS-PRINTED ARMORIAL PAPER

From Besford Court, Worcestershire. Black on buff ground. Date, 1550-75. Note the absence of the arms of Scotland. Reduction, 1—4. (Victoria and Albert Museum). Also found lining a chest at Bristol and a deed-box at the Public Record Office, London.



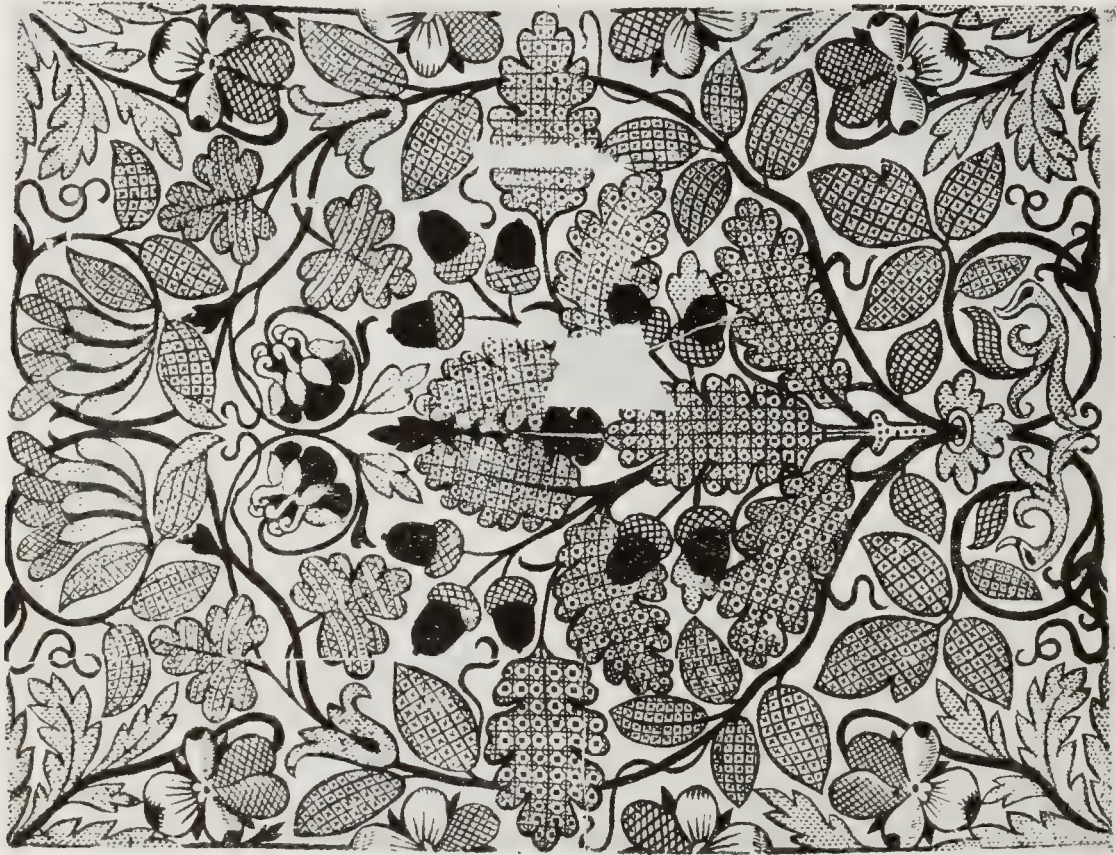
6. JACOBEOAN ARMS WITH EMBROIDERY EFFECTS

An unusual combination of armorial and embroidery effects lining a Court of Wards deed-box at the Public Record Office. Date *ante* 1645. Reduction 1—3. (Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries of London).



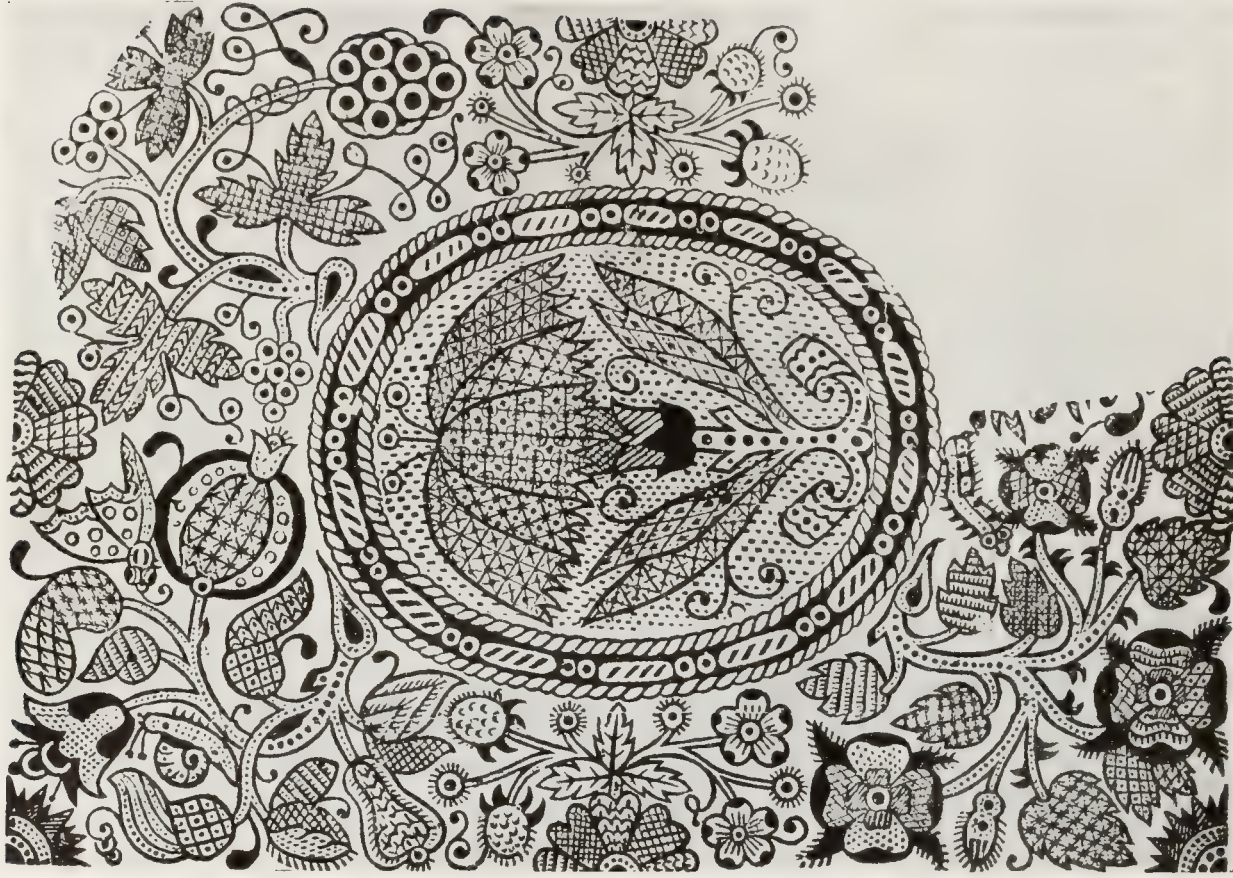
7. JACOBEOAN FLORAL WALLPAPER

An interesting example lining a box containing a licence to alienate in mortmain, dated 1615, in the Oxford University Archives. Reduction 1—3. (Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries of London).



8. LINING-PAPER FROM CAMDEN'S DEED-BOX

Another "repeat" design, of high artistic merit, lining a box containing one of the deeds with which Camden endowed his Professorship of History at Oxford, in 1622. Now at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Reduction, 1—4. (Restored).



9. 17th CENTURY PAPER WITH EMBROIDERY EFFECTS

Paper lining a box at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. "Repeat" pattern evidently intended to cover a larger space than a box. Note imitation of varied "stitch" effects, to give tonal values to the details of the design. Date, 1615. Reduction, 1—4. (Restored).



10. PLUMBERS' COMPANY CHARTER-BOX

Typical diaper-patterned paper lining the charter-box belonging to the Plumbers' Company at the Guildhall, London. Date about 1650. Reduction, 1—6. Also found lining a Chancery Masters' box at the Public Record Office, London.



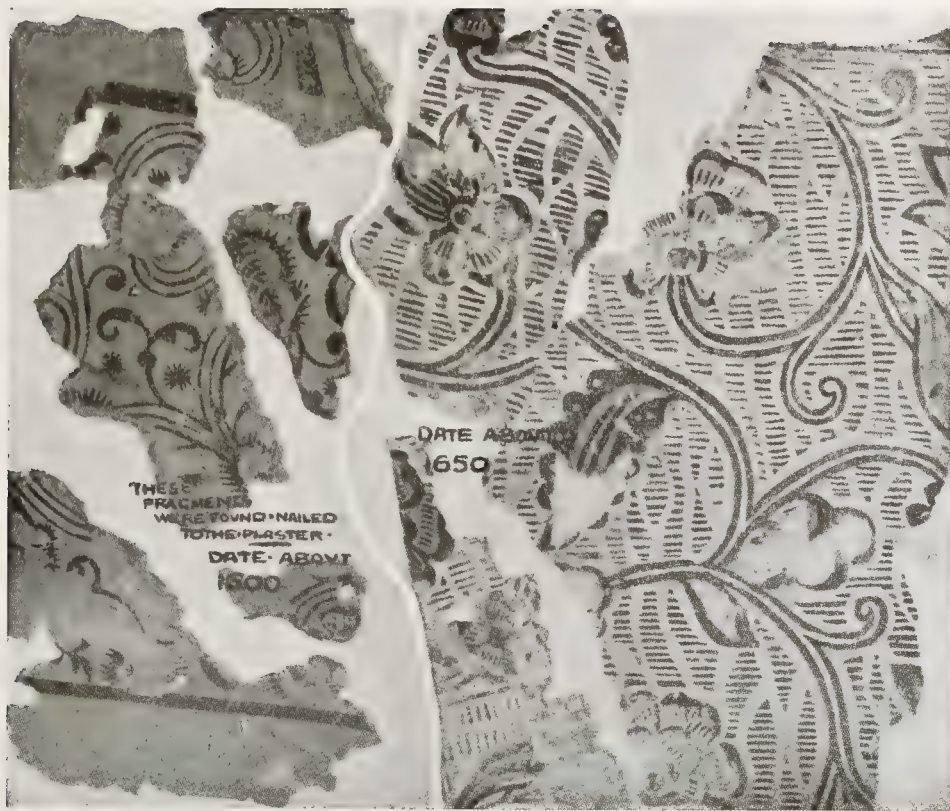
11. "MARBLE" LINED CHARTER-BOX

Another type of charter-box, lined with "marble" paper, probably imported. It belongs to the Poulterers' Company, and is one of several kept at the Guildhall, London. Date, 17th century. Reduction, 1—6.



12. STATIONERS' COMPANY CHARTER-BOX

Lined with a paper bearing a three-colour pattern, an early example of multi-colour effects. Outline and hatched ground in black, two other colours crudely blotched in through a stencil. Date, 1670-80. Reduction, 1—6



13. FRAGMENTS OF EARLY 17th CENTURY WALLPAPERS

Two pieces of multi-colour wallpaper found *in situ* in 1896, during restoration of Borden Hall, Sittingbourne, Kent. Dates, approx. 1600 and 1650 respectively. Reduction, 1—4. (Permission, Mrs. Levy).



14. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLDER SPECIMEN

By Lindsay P. Butterfield. Reduction, 1—8.



15. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LATER SPECIMEN

By Lindsay P. Butterfield. Reduction, 1—8.



16. BLOCK-PRINTED HANGING

Not strictly a wallpaper, as it is of canvas, but reproduced here as typical of a class of "patriotic" design during the restoration of the Monarchy. Of crude design, with the outline printed in black, and hand-painted in colours, it depicts Charles II and his Queen. Date, presumably 1649-1685. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



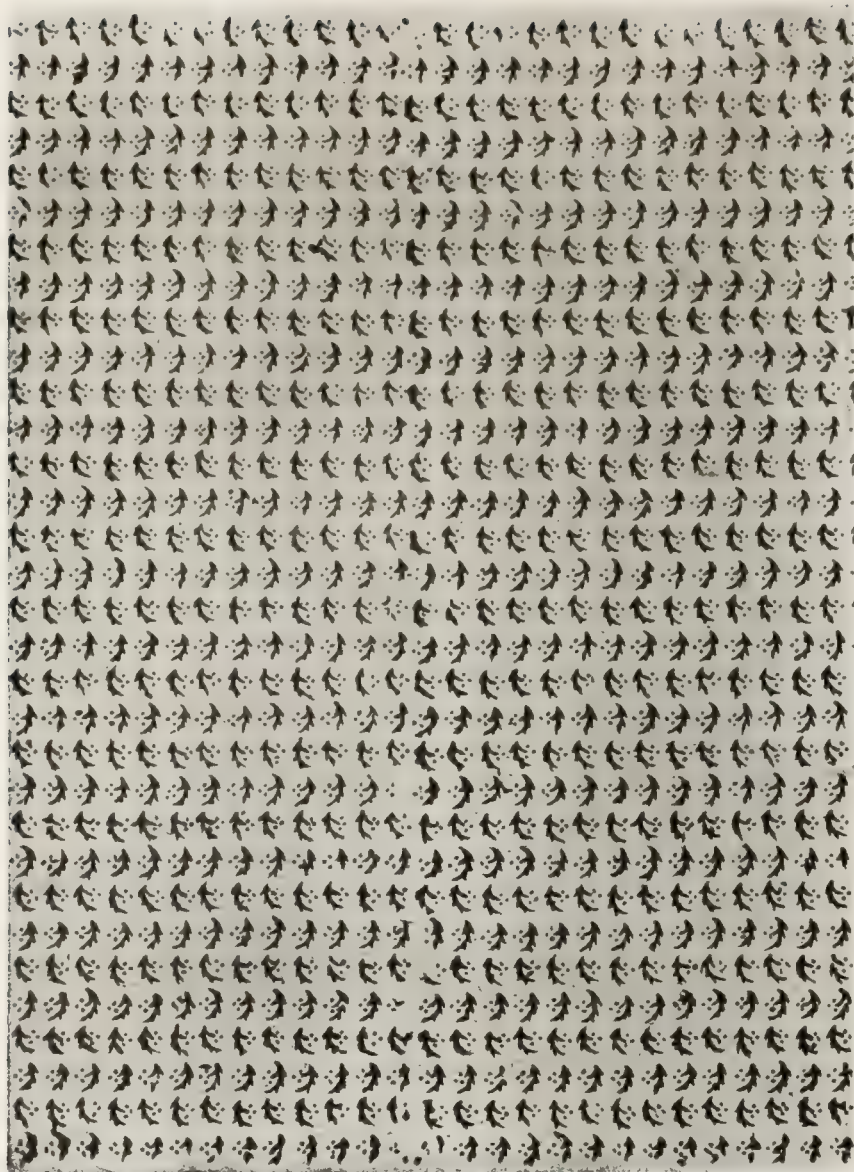
17. PICTORIAL PAPER LINING A DRAWER

From a chest in the late Lord Leverhulme's collection. Date, early 17th century.



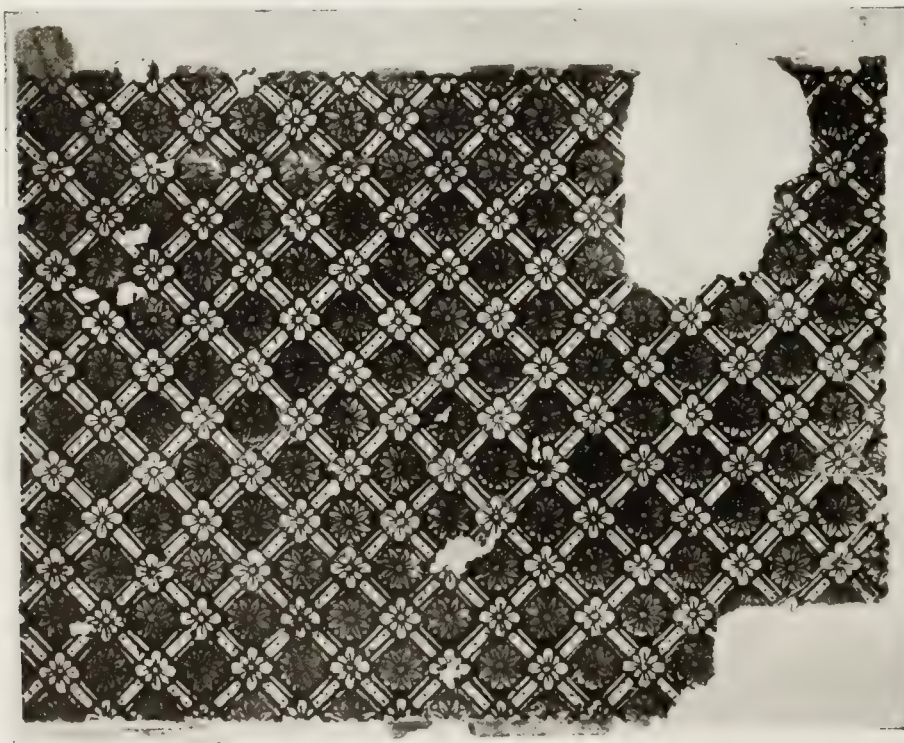
18. EARLY WALLPAPER DEPICTING A DEER-HUNT

Fragment, now preserved in the Castle Museum, Norwich, of an old multi-coloured paper (outline blocked in black and two other colours put on by hand) found during restoration work at the Maid's Head, one of the most ancient Norwich hostelryes. Date, about 1700. Possibly inspired by Chinese pictorial papers. Reduction, 1—4. Other fragments pieced together and preserved at the Maid's Head show no "repeat" over a width of four feet. (Permission, Castle Museum, Norwich).



19. SIMPLE "DOMINO" PATTERN

Typical small-object "domino" paper. Printed in black on a blue distempered sized ground. 16th century. Reduction, 1—3.



20. AN EARLY MULTI-COLOURED DIAPER PATTERN

An all-over pattern in pink and green, with yellow spots, lining a box containing Court of Wards deeds at the Public Record Office (*ante* 1645). Reduction 2—7. Found also in pink, orange and yellow. (Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries of London).



21. MULTI-COLOUR BLOCK AND STENCIL PAPER

Showing how decorated papers were used for book-covers or "sheaths." This specimen probably Italian. Date, about 1700. Reduction, 1—2½. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



22. ANOTHER TYPE OF MULTI-COLOUR PAPER

Facsimile of another specimen of multi-colour paper used as a book-cover. Date, about 1700. Reduction, 1—2½. Note embroidery effects in both specimens. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



23. PICTORIAL "DOMINO" PAPER

Block-printed in heavily-sized colours or printing inks, mixed with glue. Of Continental origin. Date, about 1760. Reduction, 1—3.



24. EARLY MULTI-COLOUR "FLOCK" HANGING

Printed in black "flock" on a buff canvas ground. The green and red effects added by hand Attributed to Herman Schinkel, of Delft. Date, about 1600 Reduction, 1—8.



25. 16th CENTURY "FLOCK" PAPER

Crimson "flock" on white paper in the Manor House, Saltfleet, Lincolnshire. The "repeat" is 28 in. by 21½ in. Believed to be of Dutch origin, possibly by Herman Schinkel, of Delft. Date, 1550-1600. Reduction 1-4.



27. A FINE "FLOCK" PATTERN
Dark-blue "flock" on a cream ground, in one of the corridors at Withepole House,
Ipswich. Date, about 1732.

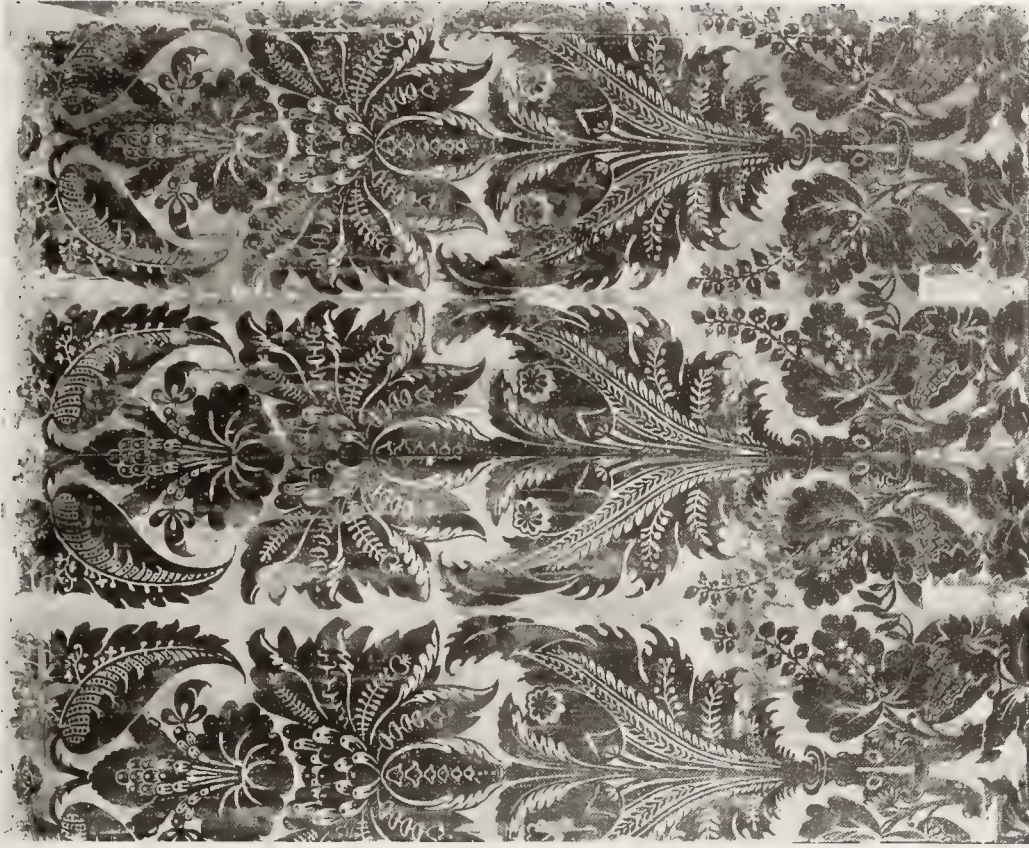


26. "FLOCK" PAPER SHOWING ORIENTAL
INFLUENCE

Crimson "flock" paper from Hurlcote Manor, Towcester, quaintly
Oriental in feeling. Early 17th century. Reduction, 1—11.
(Victoria and Albert Museum).



28. EARLY 18th CENTURY DRAWING ROOM "FLOCK"
 Reddish-brown "flock" on light-green ground, decorating the drawing-room at Withepole
 House, Ipswich. Date, about 1732. Reduction 1—13.



29. A BEDROOM "FLOCK" OF BOLD DESIGN
 One of two bold "flock" designs, quite dissimilar in detail, but with much in
 common in feeling, in bedrooms at Withepole House, Ipswich. Date, about 1732.
 Reduction 1—13.



30. 18th CENTURY "FLOCK" PAPER AT TEMPLENEWSAM

A fine red "flock" paper adorning one of the rooms at Templenewsam. Compare it for style with the designs at Withepole House, Ipswich (Plates 23, 24, 25). Date, about 1720. Reduction, 1—4. (Permission, Leeds Corporation Art Committee).



31. A POPULAR "FLOCK" PAPER

Not only is this "flock" paper at Templenewsam, it is also to be found at Hickleton Manor, near Doncaster. Date, about 1720. Reduction, 1—10. (Permission, Leeds Corporation Art Committee).



George Minnikin Stationer
 at y^e Kings head in S^t Martins Le grand
 near Aldersgate makes & sells all sorts
 of Japan & other colourd pap^r hangings
 both in sheets & Yards & sells all sorts of
 Stationary wares at Reasonable rates

32. A 17th CENTURY TRADE CARD

George Minnikin's trade card advertising "Japan" and other paper-hangings. The head and shoulders of Charles II, together with the decorations, appear to have been copied from one of Kneller's many portraits of the King. Date, about 1680. Reduction 4—5. (Bagford Collection, British Museum).



*At the Blew Paper Warehouse in
Toldermanbury LONDON.*

Are sold the true sorts of Figured Paper Hangings in pieces of twelve yards long and others after the mode of real Tapisstry, and in imitation of Irish Stich, and flowered Damask, and also of marble & other Coloured Wainscot, fitt for the hanging of rooms, and stair-Cases, with great variety of Skreens, Chimney pieces, sashes for windows and other things of Curious figures and Colours.

The Patentees for the sole making thereof doe hereby signify that their pieces are not only more substantial and ornamental as well as cheaper than the Counterfeits sold in other places but are also distinguished by these words on the back of each piece as their true mark vizt
(Blew Paper Society's Manufacture.)

Where are also sold Blew sugar loafe and Purple paper in Reams (they being the only Patentees for the making thereof) and Linnen (both Tapisstry Hangings very cheap.

You may observe the following method in the putting up the said figured Paper Hangings. First fitt your Breadths to your intended heights then tack them at the top and bottom with small Tacks, and between each Breadth leave a vacancy of about an inch for the borders to cover, then cut out the borders into the same lengths and tack them strait down over the Edges of the Breadths and likewise at the top of the room in imitation of a Cornish and the same (if you please) at the bottom as you see described in the figure below without borders and with borders.

But if you will putt up the same without borders, then cutt one of the Edges of each piece or breadth smooth and even, then tacks itt about an Inch over the next breadth and so from one to another.

But whether you putt them up with or without Borders gently wet them on the back side with a moist sponge or Cloth which will make them hang the smoother.



33. BLUE PAPER WAREHOUSE ADVERTISEMENT

An interesting advertisement, of the time of William and Mary (whose cypher, ingeniously interlaced, appear on either side of the Royal Arms). Note instructions to users, the Oriental character of the designs, and the vogue of borders. Reduction 4-5. (Bagford Collection, British Museum).

CHAPTER III

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

IMPROVEMENTS IN PAPER—THE FIRST ENGLISH PATENT MENTIONING PAPER-HANGINGS—SPREAD OF HOME-MAKING—TAXING THE NEW INDUSTRY—AN 18TH CENTURY COLONIAL ORDER—EARLY TECHNIQUE DESCRIBED—FRENCH EMULATION OF ENGLISH PROGRESS.

SEVERAL circumstances combined to make the 18th century a period that saw wallpaper take its assured place in domestic interior decoration. The progress made in the manufacture of paper during the reigns of the Stuarts, the rapid spread of material wealth among the trading, as well as the land-owning classes, the national instinct towards a mode of living removed alike from the austerities of the Puritan period and from the libertinism of the Courts of Charles II and James II, and the stimulus given to artistic taste by contact with the treasures of the Far East, all played their part in bringing wallpaper into common use. And yet not too common for the famous diarists and letter-writers of the period to ignore it. Indeed, it is from some of these entertaining gossips, such as Horace Walpole, the poet Gray, Mrs. Delany, Mrs. Montagu, and Mrs. Powys, that we draw our most vivid impressions of the importance wallpapers attained in the domestic amenities of the time.

The manufacture of paper had received a fillip from the patents taken out in 1662 by George Tomlyn, in 1665 by Charles Hildeyerd, in 1675 by Eustace Barneby, and in 1685 by John Briscoe, but not least from the great immigration in 1685, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, of Huguenot refugees, including a number of paper-makers who introduced important improvements into English manufacture of paper.

Tomlyn's patent seems to have been for a kind of printing that approached the manufacture of wallpaper. It was for :

“A newe way to text and flourish Veloms and parchments with our name, pourtrachure, imperial armes, badges, and other ornaments, by printing the same with a rolling printing presse and engraved plates, to the greate benefitt of our subjects, for that as good worke

otherwise wrought cannott well be afforded for tenn tymes the price, the worke being likewise very neate and of good ornament to our letters patent and other exemplicacions."

Hildeyerd's patent was for "the way and art of making blew paper used by sugar bakers and others." Barneby's was for "the art and skill of making all sorts of white paper for the vse of writing and printing, being a new manufacture and never produced in any way in any of our Kingdomes or dominions."

Evelyn has a very interesting note in his Diary under date August 24th, 1678:—

"I went to see my Lord of St. Alban's house at Byfleet Thence, to the paper-mills, where I found them making a coarse white paper. They cull the rags which are linen for white paper, woollen for brown; then they stamp them in troughs to a pap, with pestles, or hammers, like the powder-mills, then put it into a vessel of water, in which they dip a frame closely wired with wire as small as a hair and as close as a weaver's reed; on this they take up the pap, the superfluous water draining through the wire; this they dexterously turning, shake out like a pancake on a smooth board between two pieces of flannel, then press it between a great press, the flannel sucking out the moisture; then, taking it out, they ply and dry it on strings, as they dry linen in the laundry; then dip it in alum-water; lastly, polish and make it up in quires. They put some gum in the water in which they macerate the rags. The mark we find on the sheets is formed in the wire."

Briscoe's patent, in 1685, was for:—

"The true Art and proper Way for Making English Paper for Writing, Printing, and other Vses, both as good and as serviceable in all respects, and especially as White, as any French or Dutch Paper (which hath been the great Defect of all other Pretenders and Undertakers who have hitherto had Pattents for making Paper here), and that by such Meanes and Methodes as have not hitherto been found out or practiced by any in our Dominions, whereby much Advantage will redound to the Publick by that Manufacture's being made att Home and great Numbers of poor People employed thereupon."

A few months later a patent was granted to Dupin and others, a French company working in Hampshire, also for the manufacture of white paper, and Briscoe, who was a London merchant, asked for its revocation, stating that he had spent £10,000 on his new invention of paper works. It was on the 12th May, 1686, that Briscoe made his application in Court, and the hearing was fixed for the 20th May, but there is no subsequent entry in the register. The White Paper Makers' Company, which

was founded on the patent of Dupin and others, was incorporated by Charter in 1686, and the Charter was duly confirmed. As Briscoe became a member of the Company, it looks as though the dispute was amicably arranged.

But generally speaking there was little else than coarse brown paper made in this country until after the Stuart period. Most of the better kinds were imported from France and Holland, and as much as £100,000 a year was spent in this way. It was customary to get permits, as witness the following extract from the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) under the following date, November, 1660:—

“A petition of Edmund Castell, D.D., and Thomas Roycroft, of London, printer. For enforcement of an Order for the importation duty free of the remainder of 5,000 reams of royal paper granted them for printing an Oriental lexicon.”

In 1690, however, an Act was passed to encourage paper-making in this country, and rapid progress was made.*

FIRST ENGLISH PATENT FOR PAPER-HANGINGS

Inventors began to throng Whitehall applying for the grant of letters patent, either for a new way of making paper or for a new way of embellishing it. The first English patent specifically for paper-hangings was granted in October, 1692, to William Bayly, who paid £20 a year for the privilege. The preamble of the Royal Licence is worth recording:

“William and Mary, by the Grace of God, etc., and all to whome these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas William Bayly, hath, by his humble peticon represented vnto vs that he hath by his industry, and at his great expence, found out and invented ‘A New Art or Invention for Printing all Sorts of Paper of all Sorts of Figures and Colours whatsoever, with severall Engines made of Brasse and svch other like Mettalls, with Fire, without any Paint or Staine, which will be vsefull for Hanging of Rooms and such like vses’: and that the said Invention hath not been heretofore knowne or practised by any of our subjects, and hath humbly prayed vs to grant him our Letters Patents for the sole vse thereof”

(Bayly had already, in April of the same year (as William Bayley) been granted letters patent “for the making of a New Sort of Glazed Printed Hangings, made of Cotton, Worsted, or Woollen Yarne, of all sorts of Curious Figures and Landskips, which, for Beauty of Colours, Exactness

* Addison in *The Spectator*, May 1st, 1712, speaks of paper-making as “one of the established national industries,” and remarks with reference to paper-mills that by their means “the whole nation is in great measure supplied with a manufacture for which formerly she was obliged to her neighbours.”

of Figures, Strength, and Glosse, is hard to be distinguished from the finest Silk Tapestry Hangings brought hither from Forreigne Parts").

Nothing is known of the means by which Bayly applied his invention to the manufacture of paper-hangings. His specifications throw no light on how, without using either paint or stain, he managed to impart coloured designs to paper-hangings. His reference to "fire" is intriguing, but only adds to the mystery.

In the Franks Collection in the Print Room at the British Museum is a specially interesting advertisement or trade card dated 1705, which not only gives an idea of the range of paper-hangings offered for sale at the time, but contains a phrase which, read in conjunction with the reference in Bayly's specifications, may mean that some of the wares were the actual productions of Bayly's process:—

"At the Bible in Newgate Street over against the Blue Coat Hospital Gate, Liveth William & Joseph Marshall, Bookseller and Stationer; where is a Ware-house, and is sold all sorts of Paper Hangings, by Wholesale or Retale, very delightful for Rooms or Closets, of the Newest invention of Figures, as Irish and Diamond Stitch, Carpit or Turkey and Forest Work, etc. Also most sorts of Plain Colours, *Printed with a hot Role like your Stuffs*, sold very cheap, etc."

In Bayly's time, however, it is evident from the advertisements we have already quoted, there must have been producers of a great variety of wallpapers by one or other of the methods that had gradually been developed.

Bayly, indeed, almost missed the distinction of holding the first English patent for paper-hangings, for on November 7th, 1691, on the very day that the Royal Warrant was issued to prepare the Bill containing his grant, a petition was presented at Whitehall by "Nathaniel Gifford, gent.," setting out that he had lately obtained letters patent for the sole making of all sorts of blue, purple, and other coloured papers, and that "by some neglect of his agents the words 'beautifying, figuring, imprinting, and imbellishing of the said papers' were omitted in the warrant," and praying for "a grant of further letters patent under the Great Seal for the sole use of the said engines." The petition was referred to the Attorney or Solicitor-General, and on October 18th, 1692, sanction was given for a grant for "beautifying, figuring, etc., by such waies, methods, engines, and instruments as never were before vsed within our dominions." So it was touch-and-go whether Gifford beat Bayly for priority as holder of the first letters patent for paper-hangings.

"Patrick Gordon, gent.," was also successful with a petition which he presented on January 28th, 1692, asking for patent rights in Ireland for "an extraordinary way of making blue, purple and all sorts of paper, and of pasteboards and of embellishing and beautifying the same by such methods as were never yet known by anyone in Ireland," and vowing that he not only intended to set up this manufacture in the kingdom, but that he would also make such sorts of paper there as were never yet made. It took less than a month for the warrant to be issued to prepare a Bill giving Gordon the grant.*

In Scotland a company was formed in 1695 for the manufacture of white writing and printing paper, but there is no contemporary record of paper-staining being practised in Scotland at this period.

In the year 1724, Robert Redrich and Thomas Jones took out a patent "For making, marbling, veining, spotting, staining, clouding, and damasking any linen, silks, canvass, paper and leather." There is no evidence that this invention had any marked effect on the development of wallpapers. From the mention of so many other materials it may have had little or none.

About this period, however, two distinct fillips were given to the craft. One was the circumstance recorded by William Pyne, the historian of Kensington Palace, that Kent, the architect commissioned by George I to re-decorate the Palace, made a startling departure by papering the King's Great Drawing-room. The effect was greatly admired, and "the new art of paper-hanging, being both cheap and elegant, was generally adopted in preference to the old-style velvet flock hangings." The other was the founding by Whatman, at Maidstone, in 1739, of a paper factory, which led to considerable improvements in the production of paper.

SPREAD OF HOME-MAKING

Contemporary records—the pages of Pepys, Evelyn and Defoe are sprinkled with them—testify to the craze for building which set in with the growing diffusion of wealth after the Stuart period.

We are not here concerned with the remarkable architectural masterpieces of that unbroken succession beginning with Inigo Jones, and continued

* Gordon's venture appears to have been the forerunner of a school of Irish paper-stainers, which while it left little definite mark on the industry, was specially noteworthy by comparison with the non-emergence of similar activities in Scotland. Compare the statistics given in page 138.

in turn by Wren, Vanburgh, Thornhill, Kent, Chambers, and the Adams. There is no doubt the example of the Court and of the very wealthy began to infect all ranks of society.

Evelyn, by no means blind to the "great imperfections" of his Royal master, Charles II, records after the death of the King:—"He loved planting and building, and brought in a politer way of living, which passed to luxury and intolerable expense." King William too loved planting and building, and he and his Consort set a splendid example in the loving care they lavished on Hampton Court. Great nobles and rich commoners vied with each other in the personal interest they took in the erection of their houses, and *lares et penates* assumed a more intimate meaning throughout all classes.

Not everyone could afford the wonderful marble or porphyry columns and the rich Florentine or Genoese hangings that adorned the houses of the great; but the new mode of paper painted or stained to represent richer material sufficiently served the purpose of the less wealthy. Thus the demand for "flock" papers to imitate figured velvets or silks, and for others to counterfeit marble, or wood, or leather, was widespread and persisted throughout the century, alongside the considerable vogue for the more brilliant Chinese motives, and, at times, as will be seen, for classical or scenic effects.

Defoe, in his "Tour Through Great Britain," which began in 1722, could not refrain from a jeremiad as to what was going to become of the country "in the present decaying state of our trade, as we have more formidable rivals than ever in our foreign commerce" (how history repeats itself!); but his journal leaves an impressive picture of the luxury which the expansion of commerce in the East and the South Seas had brought to the middle classes. In the villages round Leyton (Essex) he noted 200 coaches and "the handsome large houses of £20 to £50 a year" which were being put up by "citizens who either could afford to keep a town house and a country house, or could afford to retire from trade altogether."

In 1721, Sir John Vanburgh wrote to Lord Carlisle: "All the world is mad on building so far as they can reach." The "South Sea Bubble" was the inevitable by-product of this era of easily-won wealth, but it was merely an incident, which did not disturb the fundamental prosperity of the nation.

The unswerving determination with which, at the beginning of the century, Sir Robert Walpole kept this country out of war for twenty years, and gave it time to recover from both the external and the internal disturbances of the previous unhappy century, had one rare distinction. Walpole himself has been described as the first Minister who "gave our Government that character of lenity which it has since generally deserved." He brought into English life a new sense of personal security which encouraged domestic interests. In 1724, King George I could congratulate the country on its possession of "Peace with all the Powers abroad, at home perfect tranquillity, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and religious rights."

The populations of Manchester and Birmingham had doubled themselves in 30 years. With the development of trade, Liverpool had sprung, within the space of a very few years, from a little town into the third port in the kingdom, rivalling Bristol, as Defoe records, in its trade with Virginia and the English colonies in America: "They trade also round the island, sending ships to Norway, Hamburg, and the Baltic, and also to Holland and Flanders, so that they are becoming, like Londoners, universal merchants."

TAXING THE NEW INDUSTRY

The value of land, and with it the rental of every country gentleman, trebled, while new methods of agriculture, such as the rotation of crops and the introduction of winter roots and artificial grasses, brought unparalleled prosperity to the farming classes. These were the very conditions wanted for the spread of a higher standard of living throughout the country. With the hour came the men, more or less lowly followers of the great Palladians of architecture, men like Batty Langley, Hallet and the Halfpennys (referred to later), who did not hesitate to lay down with the air of pundits ideas as to architecture and decoration which the *nouveaux riches* and the squirearchy of the time, no doubt, found mighty convenient.

Early in the century the growing use of wallpapers had suggested a new source of revenue to a Government burdened with a heavy National Debt and the need for raising supplies for Marlborough's campaigns in the Low Countries. Already, in 1694, a duty had been imposed on plain paper in spite of numerous petitions from paper-makers, but by a statute of Queen Anne in 1712, an additional duty of 1d. a square yard (increased

two years later to 1½d. per square yard) was imposed on stained paper. An extract from the Act reads:—

“And it is hereby enacted, that for and upon all Paper, which at any time or times during the term last mentioned, shall be printed, painted, or stained in Great Britain, to serve for Hangings and other uses, there shall be answered and paid to Her Majesty (over and above the duties payable for such paper before printing, painting, or staining thereof) the sum of one Penny for every yard square, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity, to be paid by such person or persons as shall print, paint, or stain the same.”

The Excise man had to see that each of the separate sheets of the size and number in use at the period, comprising the piece, was stamped before it passed out for sale. Constant supervision was necessary, but even so, and notwithstanding that the penalty for forging stamps was a fine of £500, or seven years' transportation, it cannot be doubted that the collection of the duty was not easy.

No change was made in the duty for nearly a century after the second impost in 1714, though in 1792 it became necessary to pass another “Act for more effectually securing the duties of stained Papers for Hangings.”

The stamp took various forms at different times, and it has been possible on that account to fix approximately the dates of some old wallpapers.

As by far the greater portion of the tax era coincided with the Georgian period, which lasted from 1714 to 1830, the form most commonly found bears the Royal Crown and the letters G.R. In some cases there is in addition what appears to be a serial letter or (less commonly) a serial number. One variation consisted of a simple geometric mark, somewhat in the form of a fleur-de-lys. Another, which was used in Ireland, bore the harp as its main feature. Yet another, which seems to have come into use after



the Georges, read: “First Account Taken,” and was printed in one of the colours of the design. It may be taken as an indication of the growth of the industry, and would seem to imply that the Excise Officer was unable to check every piece before it was printed, but left it to the manufacturer to make his own return of production, while he himself would take a more exact account at a later stage.

Reproductions of the first and last-mentioned types are shown in this page.



Besides the duty, a paper-stainer's licence cost £4 a year, and that of a paper manufacturer £4 4s. 0d. The public idea of the duty was 1½d. per square yard on the area printed, which was, for practical purposes, the same as 1½d. per square yard on the whole of the component sheets, including margins and "joins."

The sheets were usually either "Elephant" (22½ in. wide by 32 in. long), or, more generally, "Double Demy" (22½ in. by 35 in.), so thirteen of the former and twelve of the latter went to a "piece" of about eleven-and-a-half yards, allowing for some slight loss through "joining."

It is an interesting fact that a piece is still occasionally spoken of in the trade as "Long Elephant," but more commonly as "a Dozen," seeing that originally it usually consisted of twelve sheets of Double Demy pasted together; orders are still received by manufacturers for, say, "a hundred Dozens," the old association with the "piece."

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COLONIAL ORDER

It is remarkable, though not surprising, that we owe to America the most detailed contemporary account of an English wallpaper of the early part of the 18th century. It is contained in the following letter, dated January 23rd, 1737, written by Thomas Hancock, of Boston, to John Rowe,* stationer, London. Evidently, it is an order for a paper in imitation of the Chinese style, and it enables us to appreciate the importance wallpaper was beginning to attain:—

"Sir,—Inclosed you have the Dimensions of a Room for a Shaded Hanging to be done after the same Pattern I have sent per Captain Tanner, who will deliver it to you. It's for my own House and entreat the favour of you to Get it Done for me to Come Early in the Spring, or as Soon as the nature of the Thing will admitt.

"The pattern is all was Left of a Room Lately Come over here, and it takes much in ye Town and will be the only paper-hanging for Sale wh. am of opinion may Answer well. Therefore, desire you by all means to get mine well Done and as Cheap as Possible, and if they can make it more beautiful by adding more Birds flying here and there, with Some Landskips at the Bottom, Should like it well. Let the Ground be the same Colour of the Pattern. At the Top and Bottom was a narrow Border of about 2 Inches wide wh. would have to mine. About three

* In Kent's Directory for 1738 appears the name John Row, Stationer, Bread Street; in 1752 John Row & Co., and in 1754, John Rowe & Co. The name disappears in 1758.

or four years ago, my friend Francis Wilks, Esq., had a hanging Done in the Same manner but much handsomer, Sent over here from Mr. Sam Waldon of this place, made by one Dunbar,* in Aldermanbury, where no doubt he, or some of his successors may be found. In other part of these Hangings are Great Variety of Different Sorts of Birds, Peacocks, Macoys, Squirril, Monkys, Fruit, and Flowers, &c.

“But a greater Variety in the above-mentioned of Mr. Waldon’s and Should be fond of having mine done by the Same hand if to be mett with. I design if this pleases me to have two Rooms more done for myself. I think they are handsomer and Better than Painted hangings Done in Oyle, so I Beg your particular Care in procuring this for me, and that the patterns may be Taken Care of and Return’d with my goods.”

We have said it is not surprising to have received from the other side of the Atlantic testimony as to English workmanship. After the Spartan rigours of the early settlers, life in the American colonies had begun to take on a more orderly and civilised aspect. Among the wealthy planters in Virginia were to be found representatives of many good English families, such as those of Fairfax and Washington, and very close touch was kept with the mother-country. Houses remarkable more for strength and compactness than for any other quality were giving place among the wealthier colonists to mansions with some pretensions to elegance, and, just as in England, their owners took a keen personal interest in their adornment.

It was a common event for an American bridegroom to present to his bride as a wedding present a set of wallpapers imported from England, and there is an amusing legend, mentioned by the late Kate Sanborn, an American enthusiast on wallpapers, that Washington and Lafayette co-operated at Washington’s home in hanging a wallpaper which, greatly to the annoyance of that good housewife, Martha Washington, had not arrived in time to permit of its being hung before the distinguished French General’s arrival as her guest.

That Washington, like many other famous men, did take a practical hand in paper-hanging at some time is undoubted, for there is preserved in

* “One Dunbar” would probably keep the “Blew Paper Warehouse in Aldermanbury,” whose advertisements have already been quoted. H. Avray Tipping, M.A., in an introduction to “A Dictionary of English Furniture,” by Percy McQuoid and Ralph Edwards, the first volume of which was published in 1924, says: “In 1740, Robert Dunbar supplies Lord Cardigan with 247 yards of wallpapers, called “Blews on Yellow Lord Albemarle,” and “Reds on Yellow Lord Albemarle.” The first reference to Dunbar traceable in the directories—the early directories, as might be expected, were not always complete—is in 1752, when his Christian name is given as Robert. The name drops out in 1755.

the State archives a note in his own hand-writing recording the following very serviceable "Upholster's Directions":—

"If the walls have been whitewashed over, with glue. If not, simple paste is sufficient without any other mixture, but in either case the Paste must be made of the finest and best flour and free from lumps. The Paste must be made thick and may be thinned by putting water in it. The Paste is to be put upon the paper and suffered to remain about five minutes, to soak in before it is put up, then with a cloth press it against the wall until all parts stick. If there be rinkles anywhere, put a large piece of paper thereon, and then rub them out with cloth as beforehand."

Another distinguished American statesman, Benjamin Franklin, also took a personal interest in the wallpapers of his house, for while acting as Agent for the Assembly, he wrote to his wife from London in 1765:—

"Paint the wainscot a dead white, paper the walls blue, and tack a gilt border round the cornice. If the paper is not equally coloured when pasted on, let it be brushed over again with the same colour, and let the papier mâché musical figures be tacked to the middle of the ceiling. When this is done I think it will look very well."

EARLY TECHNIQUE DESCRIBED

Interesting details of the technique of producing wallpapers about this time are to be found in an old compendium called "The Handmaid to the Arts," by Robert Dossie, published by J. Nourse in 1758 (second edition, 1764). Paper-hangings were described as of several kinds, some being made in representation of stucco work, for covering ceilings, or the sides of halls, staircases, passages, etc.; and others in imitation of "velvet, damask, brocades, chints, and other such silks and stuffs as are employed for hanging rooms."

The principal difference in the manufacture lay in the grounds; "some of which are laid in varnish, and others in the common vehicles for water-colours, and in raising a kind of coloured embossment by chopt cloth. This embossed sort is called flock paper; the art of making which is of very late invention" (Dossie would have been more accurate if he had used the word "revival") "and is a great improvement of the manufacture of paper-hangings, both with regard to the beauty and the durableness."

Dossie's description of the colours "proper to be used" for the "common kinds"—those done with water-colours—is interesting:—

For red: lake, vermilion, rose-pink, and red oker.

For blue: Prussian blue, verditer, and indigo.

For yellow : the yellow berry wash, Dutch pink, and yellow oker.

For green : verdigrise or a mixture of the blue colours with yellow colours, particularly with the yellow berry wash.

For orange : vermilion, or red lead, with Dutch pink.

For purple : a wash made of logwood, or a mixture of the lake, or rose-pink, with deep-coloured Prussian blue, or with indigo.

For black : ivory black, and, in some nicer cases, lamp black.

For white : whiting, and, for heightenings, white lead.

Directions are given for preparing the washes. The yellow berry wash, for instance, was obtained by boiling a pint of "French berries" with half-an-ounce of alum in a gallon of water for an hour in a pewter vessel, and, after straining, boiling off some of the liquor. At this strength it is good enough for "grounding," but if required for painting it had to be thickened with gum (Senegal or Arabic).

In the better-class work, particularly that in imitation of the India (? Chinese) paper, carmine is recommended, "but it must be laid on with the pencil (? camel-hair brush) and employed sparingly" on account of the expense.

Varnished "grounds," prepared from the same colours mixed in the dry state with varnish, were usually employed for "flocks." A beautiful yellow, much brighter than those in general use, he says, could be made by laying first a white coat of white lead and varnish and spreading over it tincture of turmeric made in spirit of wine. In the same way a much brighter pink could be obtained by using Indian lake, "improperly called safflower" to tinge the white coat laid in varnish.

The reason the varnish colours were not used more often for other than grounds for "flock" papers was the expense, though Dossie adds that the results were more beautiful in many cases, and always more durable.

The kind of paper employed for the hangings was "a sort of coarse cartoon manufactured for this purpose, and there being a particular duty on paper-hangings, it is required under considerable penalties to be stamped before it be painted, or otherwise decorated for this purpose."

Besides "flock," Dossie says there were three methods :—(1) Printing the pattern in colours with wood blocks ; (2) Stencilling, and (3) The application of the pencil (camel-hair brush) by hand as in other kinds of painting.

“When the colours are laid on by printing, the impression is made by wooden ‘prints,’ so cut that the figure is made to project from the surface. The colour is generally spread on the raised surface by the agency of a piece of oilcloth. This is done by a boy or man who attends for the purpose. A fresh colour is put on the block between every impression by the printer himself. He then takes the ‘print’ in his right hand, or, being too heavy, in both, and drops it gently on the block, which is charged with the colour, and next lets it fall in the strongest though most even manner on the paper. The sheet is next hung up to dry. There are, of course, as many separate ‘prints’ as there are colours, each of which is put on successively in the same manner as the first. Great care must be taken to let each ‘print’ fall in exactly the same part of the paper as the one before it, otherwise the figure and design would be brought to all irregularity and great confusion.”

“In the common kinds of wallpaper,” he says, “it is usual to print only the outline and to lay on the rest of the colours by stencilling, which both saves expense of cutting ‘prints’ and can be done by common workmen.” The procedure was to “stencil all parts of each colour in design, and to give an outline to the whole at last by printing that brown or black, but where there is any part of the design, such as scrolls or stems of creeping plants, or flowers, which are to be printed in any other colour than brown or black, the ‘prints’ must be used for them. In the final paper, where several colours are laid on, the principal is begun with and the rest laid on successively, the printing for the outline being laid on last of all.”

“Pencilling” (by means of camel-hair brushes), according to Dossie, was used in the case of “nicer” work, such as the better imitations of “India paper,” or where “a spirit of freedom or variety not to be had in printed outline are desired.”

Besides details of how to prepare the cloth for making “flock” paper, and how to cut the “rags,” the author describes “counterfeit flock,” which was made in the same way as the real, except that instead of powdered wool, “some pigment or dry colour well powdered was strewed on the printed varnish.”

Dossie also gives instructions how to give wallpaper the appearance of “spangles” with “a kind of talc called ‘isinglass,’” reduced to thin silver scales or powder. To impart only the “spangled” effect to paper this powder had to be sprinkled sparingly, so that the colour of the ground should still show. When intended to form an outline or

figure in imitation of embroidery, the powdered talc was to be put on as thick as for flock. This sort of paper, he wrote, was not much in vogue at the time, but

“it might be very advantageously applied to some purpose, for the most elegant and rich design I ever saw in paper was executed in this way, the ground being yellow, with flowers of buff flock, and a small running figure of spangles mixt with them, which gave the paper so much the appearance of cut velvet embroidered with silver, that the deception could scarcely be distinguished at a small distance, even by daylight.”

It might well have happened that all idea of the paper-hangings in ordinary use about the middle of the 18th century had to be gleaned from Dossie's written descriptions (or similar records). Lately, however, as Hilary Jenkinson has pointed out in an addendum to his Society of Antiquaries lecture, there have come to light—of all places in the kingdom, among various old Admiralty documents preserved at the Public Record Office in London—a number of specimens of undoubted wallpaper which date, in one case not later than 1741, and in others not later than 1761-2.

Two types are illustrated in Plates 47 and 48. That shown in Plate 47 was used to cover a batch of Admiralty “muster rolls,” roughly bound together for filing purposes. As these relate to the year 1741, it is certain the paper was already being sold at that time. Though in technique it has a good deal in common with some of the French and Italian end-papers and book-covers, even to the colours used being an olive-green, a dull pink, and a yellow, it was probably of native manufacture.* The green and the pink have been printed from blocks, the latter containing some fine pin-work and the former some “hatching” in spots. The design in this case did not make any special call for “register.” The yellow (indicating flower forms) was more roughly applied—probably by being “dabbed” on by hand with a brush.

Other muster rolls of about the same date are also simply bound in cardboard covered with similar paper, but of different patterns; in some the “register” of the two principal colours is crude, and undoubtedly was due to not enough care being taken to make the blocks “fit.” In some cases the green block outlines the whole design. The “repeats” are small, generally about 10 in. by 9 in., several occurring on a single sheet.

* On this point it is important to recall that the earliest known example of letterpress printing in England, the famous “Book of St. Albans” (c. 1486) “the book of hawking and hunting, and also of coat armours” showed exactly similar colour-effects, the shields of arms being printed in bluey-green, red and yellow inks.

The other type of paper (illustrated in Plate 48) is more interesting, because, so far as the present writers know, it is actually the oldest surviving distemper wallpaper. It covers the captain's "log" of the sloop "Jamaica" for the years 1761-2. Judging from the state of the end-papers and of the binding, it is a fair assumption that it was put on while the "log" was being kept. As will be seen from the reproduction, the pattern was a bold treatment on conventional lines of simple floral forms in conjunction with an attempt to achieve a kind of *moiré* effect. It was carried out in distemper colours on a grey-green ground, the main features of the design being strongly emphasised, partly in brownish-black and partly in white (for contrast), with the flower-petals in magenta. The white has been printed first, the magenta next, and the dark objects last. The "repeat" appears to be about 21 in. square.

Not all wallpapers of this period, however, were "grounded," as is clear from a "Paperhangers and Upholsterers' Guide," published in 1854, by James Arrowsmith, whose experience went back to the latter end of the 18th century, and who recorded that as the result of such early experience "I am enabled to remark that at the beginning and up to the middle of the last century papered rooms were only to be found in the houses of the opulent; and judging from the papers I have had to remove to replace with others, those I found printed upon a ground unprepared in distemper; the patterns, large, bold scrolls, plain and embossed, generally in blue upon a self-drab ground."

FRENCH EMULATION OF ENGLISH PROGRESS

Dossie's "Handbook" is interesting, not only on account of the details which it contains of the various technical processes of wallpaper manufacture—details which there is every reason to believe, in the light of present-day practice, were described with great accuracy*—but also because it testifies indirectly to the importance which the manufacture

* It is evident, from Dossie's description, that the production in this country of polychrome patterns by means of wooden blocks had reached a high degree of perfection. Stencilling apparently was only resorted to in case of the "common kinds of wallpaper." Dossie gives such an impression of being both accurate and careful in his descriptions of processes, that, when he speaks of the outline being printed last of all, one assumes he is referring to the stencil printing. It is evident that unless the register was very accurate, the outline, whether printed or stencilled, if put on first, would easily come out blurred or indefinite. On the other hand, if existing technique of block-printing is a survival of old methods, it is probable that in this type of paper-hanging the outline, or main portion of the design, was printed first, and the component objects were in turn printed from blocks cut to proper scale and made to register by working from "pitch" marks.

had attained in this country. Steady progress had been made, both artistically and technically, especially in the development of "flock" papers, and at the time of which we are speaking, English productions were unexcelled.*

Fifty years earlier great honour had been brought to France by Jean Papillon (1661-1723), who is regarded by his countrymen as the real father of French wallpaper production. It was Papillon who broke away from the crudeness of the old dominotiers, with their small, self-contained designs, and developed patterns which "repeated" over a number of joined sheets, even to the extent of using wood-cut blocks measuring as much as three feet in length. Yet Papillon's son, Jean Michel, in his "History of Wood Engraving" (1766) could not but join in the general eulogy of English paper-hangings.

Describing a pictorial paper in the Château of Prince Léon, near Paris, representing dressed-up apes partaking of a banquet, he wrote that "the colours were not nearly so brilliant as those of the beautiful "flock" papers of England." In 1754, the engraver Roguié, in the Rue du Clôître St. Germain, advertised that he had "the secret of making the cloth-paper of England," and in 1755, Aubert, who had set up business in the old Papillon premises, appealed for patronage on the ground that he produced papers "just as beautiful and just as perfect as the English papers." Another French firm that manufactured paper-hangings, "imitating those made in England," was Jacques Gabriel Huquier & Cie, in the Rue des Mathurins.

The abundance of contemporary French references to the superiority of English "flock" papers about this time is striking. When Dossie speaks of "flock" hangings as being "of very late invention," he is clearly speaking of a development in the process which was sufficiently remarkable to appear as a new birth. Rouquet, in "*État des Arts en Angleterre*" (1760) describes the growing vogue for hanging both sitting-rooms and bedrooms with "flock" paper imitating Utrecht velvet, but lighter and gayer in effect. It was papers of this kind, ministering to a desire for the ornate, that gained favour with the French. In the earlier kind of "flock" papers multi-colour effects were obtained by

* Lady Hartford, in 1741, speaks of "the perfection to which the manufacture of that commodity—(wallpaper) is arrived in the last few years" as being surprising, and she mentions some at 12/- or 13/- a yard. In 1752, *The Covent Garden Journal* says:—"We are told that paper-hangings are scarcely distinguishable from the finest silk."

painting parts of the pattern (as in the paper attributed to Schinkel, illustrated in Plate 24), but now much more elaborate effects were obtained by dyeing the "flock" before it was applied. Typical examples of "flock" papers of the period, at Withepole House, Ipswich, and Templenewsam, Leeds, are shown in Plates 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31.

It became the rage in Paris to have English paper-hangings, and "flock" became known as "*papier d'Angleterre*." Madame de Pompadour, herself one of the greatest patrons of French paper-stainers, ordered an English paper for her dressing-room at Versailles, in 1754, and in 1758 put up another in her bathroom at the Château de Champs. Madame de Genlis commented on the prevailing craze for English products: "The ladies wear only robes à l'Anglais. They sell their jewels to buy English glass. They even send their magnificent Gobelins tapestries into storage to put English blue paper in their place."

It was not only English "flock" paper and English "blue" paper that about the middle of the 18th century gained for our paper-stainers a reputation in France. The method of using as many blocks as there were colours in a given pattern, which by now had been brought to a high degree of perfection in this country, was in advance of Continental technique, where the stencil was still employed, a method, which as Papillon *fils* pointed out, produced an untidy effect—"either the colour runs over the edges of the cut-out pattern and smears the paper, or the slipping of the patterns causes bad register."

The English practice of producing papers with coloured grounds and of using distemper colours (as described by Dossie) was also regarded as being an advance on their own method, apparently a legacy from the dominotiers, of applying the pattern by means of coloured inks mixed with glue. The English distemper colours had the disadvantage of being fugitive (though, as Dossie mentions, varnished grounds and colours mixed with varnish were used for the better papers), but they gave a wide range of pleasing results, and their popularity probably had a great deal to do with the fact that to this day wallpapers in France are known as "*papiers peints*."

The excellence of the English wallpapers imported into France had the result, as might have been expected, of making the French bestir themselves, and not only did they make every effort to imitate the English papers, but protection to the domestic manufacturers was given by a State

Decree of 1755, putting a duty of 20 francs per hundredweight on imported flock papers, the export duty being only 20 sous per hundredweight.

To such unusual lengths was the demand for English papers carried, that one enterprising Englishman, Lancake (or Lancoke), established at Carrières, near Paris, a factory for wallpaper made in the English manner, with a retail store in the Rue St. Antoine. There was another firm founded by an Englishman—Windsor, Père, Fils, et Cie—established in 1779-1790 at the corner of the Rues de Petit Vaugirard et de Bagneux. The influence of English ideas on French production, about this time, was undoubtedly very powerful.

Even during the Reign of Terror, after the famous Réveillon, whose artistic and technical achievements had gained for him in 1785, the Necker Medal for the encouragement of the useful arts, had fled to England broken-hearted at the destruction by the mob of his life-work—it was a strike-riot of his 300 workpeople, who stormed and burned his factory, that precipitated the Revolution*—two Englishmen who had had some training under him—Robert, who had been a merchant, and Arthur, a clock-maker—set up a wallpaper factory at the corner of the Rue Louis le Grand. They specialised in grisaille and sepia prints, including reproductions of paintings by Boucher, Delafossé, and Fragonard, and they appear to have had considerable success. Arthur, who was a friend of Robespierre, unfortunately got mixed up with politics, and was guillotined during the Terror; Robert continued the business under the name of Citoyen Robert on the Place Vendôme.

It is not surprising to learn that though some Englishmen carried on business in Paris in the troublous times of "the Terror," Réveillon was not the only French manufacturer of paper-hangings who found a refuge in this country. For instance, it is likely that Aubert, of

* A rumour had been circulated that Réveillon had said that a journeyman could live on fifteen sous a day. The ugly temper that arose among the workpeople was more than the city watch could deal with, and the commandant of Paris sent along some thirty Gardes Françaises. Carlyle describes the scene in a graphic passage:—

"These clear the street, happily without firing; and take post there for the night in hope that it may be all over. Not so; on the morrow it is far worse. Saint Antoine has risen anew, grimmer than ever; reinforced by the unknown Tatterdemalion Figures, with their enthusiast complexion and large sticks. The City, through all streets, is flowing thitherward to see; two cartloads of paving stones, that happened to pass that way, have been seized as a veritable godsend. . . . What a sight! A street choked up with lumber, tumult, and endless press of men. A Paper-Warehouse eviscerated by axe and fire; mad din of Revolt; musket volleys responded to by yells, by miscellaneous missiles, by tiles raining from roof and window, tiles, execrations and slain men. . . . There is an encumbered street, four or five hundred dead men; unfortunate Réveillon has found shelter in the Bastille."

Holmes & Aubert, who afterwards amalgamated with Jeffrey & Co., was a descendant of the Aubert who succeeded Papillon.

Further incidental evidence of the supremacy of English papers during the 18th century is indicated in a lecture which John Gregory Crace gave in 1839 before the Royal Institute of British Architects, when he remarked :—" Contemporary with Jackson (one of the best-known English producers, of whom more anon) I have learned that a Mr. Taylor,* the grandfather of one of our most eminent manufacturers, carried on this business to a considerable extent and accumulated a large fortune. He was succeeded by his son, who, I am informed, visited France, and was enabled to give the manufacturers there considerable information. He said he found the French paper-hangings very inferior to our own, both as to execution and beauty of design."

* Besides Nathaniel Taylor at Lower East Smithfield, from 1775 to 1793, there was a Joseph Taylor at 85, West Smithfield, from 1789 to 1793, and there is reason to believe it was the latter, whose business passed eventually into the hands of Williams, Coopers, and Boyle, to whom Crace referred.

CHAPTER IV

FAMOUS PIONEERS

JOHN BAPTIST JACKSON—HORACE WALPOLE'S ULTRA GOTHICISM—BROMWICH, OF LUDGATE HILL—THOMAS GRAY'S SHOPPING FOR A FRIEND—CHIPPENDALE AND GARRICK—OTHER EARLY LONDON PAPER-STAINERS—OLD-TIME TRADE CARDS—VARIOUS KINDS OF PAPER.

IT has been supposed that the records of the pioneers who helped to advance English manufacture about the middle of the 18th century, were much scantier than they really are. Patient research among contemporary sources has enabled credit to be given—not, perhaps, as discriminatingly as might be desired, but with some actual knowledge of achievements—to some of these forerunners of the industry.

The reputation of English papers in France would appear to have rested chiefly on “flock,” but great advances were being made in other styles. For instance, in 1753, Edward Deighton (or Dighton) took out a patent for “an entire new method of manufacturing paper for hanging and ornamenting of rooms, and other purposes, and that the same will be of great use and benefit to the publik.” This method consisted in using etched or engraved plates of metal. The design was impressed on paper under a rolling-mill and then painted or coloured by hand with “camell-hair pencils.” He also used gold size in gilding his designs, possibly suggested by the gilded and embossed leathers of the earlier centuries. It was a process which, as can be imagined, would achieve fine results and enable crispness of detail and brilliancy of colour to be obtained.

But an even more novel influence than that of Deighton was introduced about this time. It was accompanied by a distinct development in technique as regards English wallpaper, and expressed itself in a “note” of classicism at variance with the prevailing tastes, not only in imitation of “stuffs,” but also for the kind of bastard Chinese art typified in the Hancock letter from Boston quoted on page 49.

For this innovation John Baptist Jackson, of Battersea, was responsible, and it is because Jackson was given to blowing his own trumpet that

we know rather more of him and his claims than of any of his contemporaries. According to his advertisements he was chiefly concerned to combat the extravagances to which the imitations of Chinese *motifs* had run—he was by no means alone in this—but as his own style ran to extravagances in another direction, one may take his criticisms as being not unmixed with a desire to disparage his competitors.

Jackson, who was born in 1702, had been apprenticed to the engraver Kirkall. He went to Paris in 1726, and while there worked for Papillon *fils*. According to Papillon, writing in after years,* Jackson was neither too efficient nor too loyal, and left his employ in bad odour, but as all Papillon's references to Jackson are obviously biassed, one need not take them too seriously.

Papillon's story is that on Jackson's arrival in Paris he gave him work to keep him from starving, and that Jackson repaid him with ingratitude. He complains in particular that Jackson made a copy of a design entrusted to him to execute, and before handing in the finished block he offered his copy to the very customer for whom Papillon was having the block made. This, according to Papillon, was why he got rid of Jackson, who thereupon "went the round of the printing-offices of Paris and offered his engravings for almost nothing. Many of the printers took advantage of his distress, and bought freely of his work. He had a certain insipid taste no higher than the little ornaments on snuff-boxes, after the manner of other inferior engravers." Even this precarious employment soon failed him, and "obliged from destitution to leave Paris, where he could get no work to do, he travelled France, and then, disgusted with his calling, accompanied a painter to Rome, from there he went to Venice, where he got married, and afterwards went back to England, his native country."

So much for Papillon's account of his former *employé*. Jackson appears to have met with some appreciation in Italy, for in 1745 Pasquale, the leading printer and publisher of Venice, issued a set of plates by him, being reproductions of engravings after Titian, Paul Veronese, and other Old Masters. One of his more ambitious efforts was a rendering of Rembrandt's "Descent from the Cross." He returned to England in 1746, and finding no great demand in this country for his engravings, he tried

* "*Traité Historique et Pratique de la Gravure en Bois*" (Paris, 1766).

to turn his experience in the technique of *chiaro oscuro* to account for the purpose of producing wallpapers. He accordingly entered a paper-staining factory at Battersea, whence in 1754 he issued his "Essay on Engraving and Printing in *Chiaro Oscuro*."

A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
Invention of Engraving and Printing
I N
C H I A R O O S C U R O,
A S P R A C T I S E D
By ALBERT DURER, HUGO DI CARPI, &c.
A N D
The Application of it to the Making PAPER HANGINGS of Taste,
Duration, and Elegance,
By Mr. J A C K S O N, of *Battersea*.
Illustrated with P R I N T S in proper Colours.
Ceux qui sont capable d'inventer sont rares : ceux qui n'inventent point sont en plus grand nombre, et par conséquent les plus forts.
PASCAL.



L O N D O N :

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*; S. BAKER, in *York-Street, Covent-Garden*; J. WHISTON and B. WHITE; and L. DAVIS, in *Fleet-Street*. MDCCLIV.

(Price Two Shillings and Six-pence.)

The title-page (reproduced above) with its quotation from Pascal, is characteristic. Most of the Essay, which is written in the third person, is not less stilted. After a very insinuating opening to the effect that it is too generally the fate of inventors to exhaust themselves

in bringing their inventions to full fruition—"the Artist being totally engaged in the pursuit of his Discovery has but little Time to apply to the Lovers and Encouragers of Art for their Patronage, Protection, and Supplies necessary for carrying on such a Design; or he has no Powers to set the advantage which would result from it in a true Light"—the author invokes "that Assistance which, like the artificial Heat of a Greenhouse, would bring that Art to a Ripeness which would otherwise languish and die under the Coldness of the first Designer, and which this union of Riches and Invention would yield mutual Advantage to both."

This leads up to a reference to the tapestry factory at Fulham, established by the Duke of Cumberland. He proceeds:—

"To offer himself forth, then, to the Knowledge of his Country is the Reason why the Author of the Paper Manufactory now carrying on at Battersea has printed these Sheets in hopes that the Illustrious Example above mentioned, and the Merit of the Undertaking, might induce Gentlemen of Taste to look into and give Vigour to his Invention and Infant Art.

"Certainly Mr. Jackson, the Person of whom we speak, has not spent less Time and Pains, applied less Assiduity, or travelled to fewer distant Countries in search of perfecting his Art than other men, having passed twenty Years in France and Italy to compleat himself in drawing after the best Masters in the best Schools and to see what Antiquity had most worth the attention of a student of his particular pursuits.

"Like a true Lover of his Native Country, he is returned with a Design to communicate all the Means which his Endeavours can contribute to enrich the Land where he drew his first Breath by adding to its Commerce and employing its Inhabitants, and yet like a Citizen of it he would willingly enjoy some little share of those Advantages before he leaves this World which he must leave behind him to his Countrymen when he shall be no more."

Jackson admits his method is not properly an invention:—

"... since the same Art was known and put in execution by Albert Dürer, and was also practised in Venice by the engravers who cut out on wood the works of Titian, Salviati, Campagniola. Even Andrea Vincentino did not think it in the least a dishonour, though a painter, to grave on wood the landscapes of Titian. At Rome even Raphael, the most superior genius of all painters, and Parmegiano drew blocks which were cut by Hugo di Carpi, who was the original projector of printing in Chiaro Oscuro. At Bologna also this Art received great encouragement, and in fact every great School in Italy adopted and cherished this manner of engraving and printing.

“After having said all this it may seem highly improper to give to Mr. Jackson the Merit of Inventing this Art, but let him be permitted to say that an Art recovered is little less than an Art invented.”

He then records how his engraved reproductions of “pictures by the great Italian” gained the recognition of several notabilities in Venice, and proceeds :—

“Having thus brought this Manner of Engraving on Wood to the Perfection above mentioned, Mr. Jackson has imagined a more extensive way of applying this invention than has hitherto been thought of by any of his predecessors; which is the printing of paper for the hangings of Rooms. By this Thought he has certainly obtained the most agreeable and most useful ends for the Generality of Mankind in fitting up Houses and Apartments; which are Elegance, Taste, and Cheapness. By this way of printing paper the Inventor has contrived that the Lights and Shades shall be broad and bold and give great relief to the Figures; the finest Prints of all the antique Statues which imitate Drawings are introduced into Niches of Chiaro Oscuro in the Pannals of the Paper; these are surrounded with a Mosaic Work in imitation of Frames, or with Festoons and Garlands of Flowers with great Elegance and Taste.”

Jackson offers the following suggestions to would-be clients :—

“The Apollo of the Belvidere Palace, the Medicean Venus, the Dying Marmorino, or the famous group of the Laocoon may be disposed of in so many panels and all other parts of the paper correspond to its original intent, and other antique statues, landscapes after Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorraine, Views of Venice by Canaletti, copies of all the best Painters of the Italian, French, and Flemish Schools; in short, every Bird that flies, every Figure that moves upon the surface of the Earth from the Insect to the Human, and every Vegetable that springs from the Ground whatever is of Art or Nature, may be introduced into this design of fitting up and furnishing Rooms.”

Even “Saloons in Imitation of Stucco may be done in this Manner, and Staircases in every Taste as shall be most Agreeable.” In comparing his results with others he boasts :—

“It need not be mentioned to any Person of the least Taste how much this Way of finishing Paper exceeds every other hitherto known; 'tis true however that the gay, glaring Colours in broad Patches of red, green, yellow, blue, etc., which are to pass for Flowers and other Objects which delight the Eye that has no true Judgment belonging to it, are not to be found in this as in the Common Paper; but Colours softening into one another, with

Harmony and Repose and true Imitations of Nature in Drawing and Design. Nor are there Lions leaping from Bough to Bough like Cats, Houses in the Air, Clouds and Sky upon the Ground, a thorough confusion of all the Elements; nor Men and Women, with every other Animal, turn'd Monsters, like the Figures in the Chinese Paper, ever to be seen in this Work."

In conclusion, Jackson claims, besides this superiority in taste, that his colours, being done in oil, "will never fly off," and that his papers are water-proof and damp-proof, "the whole Body of the Paper being impregnated with the oil which is used in the fixing the Colours whereas in that done with Water Colours in the Common Way, Six Months makes a very visible Alteration in that preposterous Glare which makes its whole Merit."

In the Essay are illustrated various specimens of his handiwork—a bust of Democritus, a Lion, "The Building and Vegetable," Hercules, a bird and classical vase, and a weird-looking ruined temple with a still more weird-looking flowering plant (or vegetable, as he would have called it) in the foreground.

Jackson does not give many technical details regarding his process, though he praises "the Freedom, Life and Spirit" of wood engraving against the too meticulous nicety of the (metal) graver—"too much correctness spoils the delicacy of true grace and communicates stiffness to the figures." He mentions that his wood blocks were strong enough to bear the weight of a rolling press (which was evidently an important part of his process). He also claims that he had "invented ten positive tints in Chiaro Oscuro, whereas Hugo di Carpi knew but four, all which prints can be taken off by four Impressions only."

In the Print Room of the British Museum are five Jackson papers just as he describes them—two richly-ornamented scroll borders with flowers and fruit, and three panels showing a framework of flowers and fruit, in colours, with a central human figure in monotone (see Plates 34 and 35). They were apparently produced, not merely by solid, but also by "hatched" wood-engravings, and considerable pressure was applied, the reverse side of the paper still showing the "impression" very plainly. In all probability the paper was slightly damped before being printed, as is the case with ordinary letterpress printing, to enable it to give stronger and more even body to the colours.

Four colours were used, yellow first, grey-green second, blue third, and red last, and by free blending or over-printing his "ten positive tints" were produced. The blue (outline) and red have hatchings of two different kinds, one in lines and one in diamond-shaped dots caused by the intersection of concentric circles cut into the block, probably executed with a sharp compass tool. These pins and lines are so fine that the colour must have been "furnished" by running a brush or a roller like a letterpress roller over the block, and not by dipping the block in the colour-sieve, as is the case with most block-printed papers.

Many writers, both in this country and in France, have credited Jackson with being the first to obtain a great variety of multi-colour effects solely by means of blocks instead of putting some of them on by hand with a brush. As will appear, however, it is doubtful if Jackson's methods were as original as he claimed and as history has usually given him credit for. It has also been claimed for him that he was the "father" of the "scenic" paper. If we exclude the Chinese pictorial papers, which, for all his contemptuous references to them, may have excited his secret envy and actually been the source of his attempts to provide a Western substitute, there are grounds for believing that, except for isolated cases such as the Norwich deer-hunt (Plate 18), Jackson was one of the first paper-stainers to show a *penchant* for landscape, whether classical or conventional.

Several fragments of wallpaper attributed to Jackson, from Doddington Hall, Lincolnshire (see Plates 36 and 37) are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington. Whether they are authentic specimens there is no reliable evidence, but they are in one of the styles he advertised—medallion panels framed in foliated scroll borders surrounding architectural "pieces" or little genre pictures in the French feeling. These are ordinary distemper block prints, five or six prints to each specimen. If Jackson's, they might be accounted for by the circumstance that it was not practicable for him to devote the whole of the Battersea factory to the *chiaro oscuro* process, but employment had to be found for plant useful for the accepted technique of the period. A landscape paper with a curious bare effect (Plate 39), as though intended to be finished off with a floral border is also attributed to Jackson (possibly on no better evidence than that it too came from Doddington Hall), but the technique suggests a later date.

Rococo scroll-work was a common art-convention of the period, and of itself meant nothing in the way of authorship. Being a pushful man, Jackson, no doubt, obtained some notoriety in his time and he was certain to find many imitators, so much so that it has become a practice to attribute to him almost any paper dating back to the second half of the 18th century.

For instance, a set of papers attributed to Jackson is still to be seen *in situ* at Harington House, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire. The owner, J. A. Fort, however, scouts the probability of their being anything more than "inspired" by him, for along with the Excise stamp on the back is the date 1786, and Jackson was born in 1702. Possibly the circumstance that the stamp also bears the letter "J" has helped to give rise to the Jackson theory, but it is doubtful if more than a serial significance is to be attached to this letter, which is often met with on papers of this period. (See also page 69).

The paper is in its original position, for it exactly fits spaces between windows and doors which are not themselves symmetrical with each other. The design consists of a series of elaborate scroll-work borders surrounding panels containing either landscapes with ruins, or figures in the semi-classical style, together with ornamentation made up largely of Masonic emblems. It has been suggested, indeed, that the apartment was used for some purpose in connection with Freemasonry.

Another case in point is a set of three different papers now in possession of Mrs. Simpson-Hayward at Icomb Place, not far from Bourton-on-the-Water. These are unused spare pieces remaining from the decoration in 1769 of the Old Manor at Bourton, which belonged to Mrs. Simpson-Hayward's forbears. They preserve their original freshness in texture and colour in a remarkable manner, as will be seen from the reproductions which we are privileged to give.

The most striking, of which five unused pieces still remain, is a distemper paper of the highest class in design and execution. (See *Frontispiece*). Against a background of yellow, the tone of which is a sheer delight, is a design in the classic manner, carried out in grey, sepia, black, and white, of an archway decorated with floral festoons, a graceful semi-circular arrangement of Greek columns occupying the background and a vase of flowers the foreground. The clever effect obtained by means so simple as the quiet tones of the detail against the yellow

background testifies to the possession of high artistic sense on the part of the producer. The attribution of this paper to Jackson is undoubtedly wrong—neither in technique nor in feeling does it resemble anything of his. On the other hand, those experts who have suggested a French origin, overlook the fact that it bears on the back the “G.R.” Excise stamp with the serial figure “4.” It is certain, therefore, it was of English manufacture, and in all probability it came from the establishment of one of the leading paper-stainers of the period; as good a guess as any would be Bromwich, of Ludgate Hill, or Spinnage, of Cockspur Street. (See pages 73-79, and 86).

Of the two other papers in Mrs. Simpson-Hayward’s possession, one (Plate 39A) was undoubtedly from the same factory as the paper just described, being carried out in exactly the same colours on the same yellow ground. Moreover, it bears the same Excise stamp—“G.R.” with the figure “4.” In character it “favours” the Doddington Hall papers (Plates 36 and 37)—another argument against the Jackson origin of these—except that its framed vignettes partake of a purely scenic nature, and some of the spaces in the design, as remembered by Mrs. Simpson-Hayward in use, were occupied by coloured portraits of her ancestors in *papier mâché* frames, after the manner so strikingly surviving at Woodhall, as described on page 84.

The other is a ceiling paper (Plate 39B) carried out in sepia, black and white on a grey distemper ground. The design, with its angel-trumpeter and attendant cherubim, surrounded by an enrichment in imitation high relief, forms a series of “repeating” squares, and was no doubt very effective. It, too, bears the “G.R.” Excise stamp, but with the serial letter “J.”

Jackson’s claim to have “recovered” the art of engraving in *chiaro oscuro* is as brazen as most of his statements. It is especially shameless seeing that his old master Kirkall was a noted engraver in the *chiaro oscuro* method.* One of Kirkall’s largest efforts was a copy of Hugo di Carpi’s “Æneas carrying his Father on his Shoulders,” after a design by Raphael, so it is a fair supposition that it was during his apprenticeship

* Kirkall was sufficiently well known in his generation to be mentioned in Pope’s “Dunciad,” *apropos* of a frontispiece he had engraved for the works of Mrs. Eliza Haywood:—

See in the circle next Eliza placed,
Two babes of love close clinging to her waist:
Fair as before her works she stands confest,
In flowers and pearls by bounteous Kirkall drest.

in England that Jackson learned the rudiments of di Carpi's technique which he afterwards applied to wallpaper production.

It is interesting that in Kirkall's work the outline and the darker parts of the figures were printed from copper plates, the sepia-coloured tints being afterwards impressed from wooden blocks, whereas the Italians used wooden blocks entirely, and this was precisely how Jackson is said to have got his effects.

It would seem that Jackson's claims aroused resentment in his old employer in Paris. To whom else than Jackson is it likely that Papillon *fils* was referring when he wrote:—

“There are people who would meddle with wood-engraving without so much as a smattering of it, and who do this in a very singular manner; they employ the graver on the wood as if they were engraving on metal and make their cross lines in the same manner as in copper—which produces in the print white lines enclosing little squares of black—a very disagreeable thing.”

The point is not material, so much as interesting on the human side. Certainly, Jackson's cross-hatching corresponds to this description, as also by the way did Papillon's.

There are other doubts about Jackson's claims to originality. Not only does Dossie speak of printing in *chiaro oscuro* in 1756 as though it was not a rare practice, but Jacque Chauvan, who had been chief apprentice to Papillon, was stated in 1750 by Papillon *fils* to have made a great success of paper printed in several colours from superimposed wood blocks. They were “printed in oil colours, and could resist water and dampness without damage”—almost the very phraseology used by Jackson four years later.

The fact appears to be that Jackson was a clever engraver with a business mind who did not stick at trifles when it came to crying his wares. This was the view taken of him by a namesake, John Jackson, who, in 1838, along with W. A. Chatto, published an exhaustive “Treatise on Wood Engraving,” in which they say “Battersea” Jackson's historic “Essay” was frequently incorrect in its account of the origin and progress of *chiaro oscuro* engraving:—

“It is evident that the writer was either ignorant of what had been done in the 16th and 17th centuries and even in his own age, or that he was wishful to enhance the merit of Mr. Jackson's process by concealing what had been done in the same manner by others.”

They also make the definite statement that the principles of the art of printing in *chiaro oscuro* had been applied in France to the execution of paper-hangings upwards of fifty years before John Baptist Jackson tried the same kind of manufacture in England.

Jackson's bold claims to originality and merit are scarcely borne out by anything he is known to have achieved. That he had a vogue, however, seems certain, for apart from his "Essay" he has come down to us as an historical figure. To modern taste in art many of his productions seem almost monstrous, and yet they were to some extent the expression of the time-spirit in which they were born.

HORACE WALPOLE'S ULTRA GOTHICISM

It was an age that artistically was trying to "find" itself. Not since the spacious days of Elizabeth had Englishmen been so conscious of their place in the world. Forgotten the humiliations brought on this country in the councils of Europe by the Stuarts, forgotten the long years of peace during which Robert Walpole withstood all kinds of pressure to join in the Continental struggles. Walpole had been followed after a short interval by "the Great Commoner," the elder Pitt, who with his passionate eloquence awakened the nation to a sense of its greatness, and under whom England played a world-role beyond anything she had ever conceived. It was an age that saw Clive lay the foundations of our Indian Empire on the Plain of Plassey, and, in the other hemisphere, Wolfe seal the fate of North America on the Heights of Abraham. "One is forced to ask every morning what victory there is for fear of missing one," wrote Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, with a characteristically whimsical touch of exaggeration; while with the same gusto he exclaimed in a letter to George Montagu: "Our bells are worn thread-bare with ringing for victories."

Something grandiose was to be expected in the artistic yearnings of the day. It was found on the one hand in Jackson's classicism, and on the other in the equally-pretentious ultra-Gothicism by which Horace Walpole made his house at Strawberry Hill* one of the domestic wonders

* The acquisition and reconstruction of this house near Twickenham has been described as the great event in Walpole's life. Originally the "country box" of a retired coachman of the Earl of Bradford, it was subsequently occupied by Colley Cibber, the Poet Laureate; Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Durham; and by a son of the Duke of Chandos; and finally, before Walpole went there, by Mrs. Chenevix, the toy-woman, of Suffolk Street (sister of Pope's Mrs. Bertrand, of Bath). Walpole at first took over from the toy-woman the remainder of her lease; but he soon became so absorbed in the task of Gothicking the place that he bought it outright. How strongly it twined itself round his affections

of his time. The two tastes mingled with difficulty, but their union was not impossible, and Walpole even made use as wall decorations of Jackson's Venetian pictures (one is reproduced in Plate 38) which he had not thought much of as prints. Writing to Horace Mann in Italy, on June 12th, 1753, to give Mann an idea of how he was altering the place, he says:—

“... Now you shall walk into the house. The bow window leads into a little parlour hung with a stone-coloured Gothic paper and Jackson's Venetian prints, which I could never endure while they pretended, infamous as they are, to be after Titian, etc., but when I gave them the air of barbarous bas-reliefs they succeeded to a miracle; it is impossible at first sight not to conclude that they contain the history of Attila or Totila done about the very æra.”

In the same letter Walpole goes on to describe the rest of the interior, and his account of the wallpapers is decidedly interesting:—

“... From hence under two gloomy arches you come to the hall and staircase. . . . Imagine the walls covered with (I call it paper, painted in perspective to represent Gothic fretwork). . . . The room on the ground floor nearest you is a bed-chamber hung with yellow paper and prints framed in a manner invented by Lord Cadogan, with black and white borders printed; over this is Mr. Chute's bed-chamber, hung with red in the same manner; in the tower beyond is the charming closet where I am writing to you: it is hung with green paper and water-colour pictures. . . . Out of this closet is the room where we always live, hung with a blue and white paper, adorned with festoons and a thousand plump chairs, couches, and luxurious settees covered with linen of the same pattern. . . . Under this room is a cool little hall where we generally dine, hung with paper to imitate Dutch tiles.”

from the very first may be gathered from a letter he wrote to Horace Mann in the summer of 1747, where he speaks of:—

“... a little new farm that I have taken just out of Twickenham. The house is so small that I could send it to you in a letter to look at; the prospect is as delightful as possible, commanding the river, the town, and Richmond Park; being situated on a hill descending to the Thames, there are two or three meadows where I have some Turkish sheep and two cows all studied in their colours for becoming the view. This little rural bijou was Mrs. Chenevix's, the toy-woman *à la mode*, who in every dry season is to furnish me with the best rain water from Paris and now and then with some Dresden china cows who are to figure like wooden classics in a library; so I shall grow as much a shepherd as any swain in Astræa.”

In a letter three days later to Henry Seymour Conway he is still full of an almost childish delight over his “new plaything,” as he calls it,

“that I got out of Mrs. Chenevix's shop and is the prettiest bauble you ever saw. It is set in enamelled meadows with filigree hedges. . . Two delightful roads, that you would call dusty, supply me continually with coaches and chaises. Barges as solemn as Barons of the Exchequer move under my window. Richmond Hill and Ham Walks bound my prospect; but, thank God! the Thames is between me and the Duchess of Queensberry. Dowagers as plenty as flounders inhabit all around, and Pope's ghost is just now skimming under my window by a most poetical moonlight. I have about land enough to keep such a farm as Noah's when he set up in the ark with a pair of each kind. . . . Lord John Sackville *predeceased* me here and instituted certain games called *cricketalia*, which have been celebrated this very evening in honour of him in a neighbouring meadow.”

BROMWICH OF LUDGATE HILL.

Many commentators have suggested that Jackson was drawn on for some of these papers, but the present writers are inclined to think that the only productions of Jackson's used at Strawberry Hill were his Venetian prints. There is ample evidence that the paper-stainer on whom Walpole chiefly relied was Bromwich, of Ludgate Hill. Writing from his town house in Arlington Street on the 18th May, 1754, to Richard Bentley while the work of renovating Strawberry Hill was at its height, Walpole says:—

“Little excursions to Strawberry, little parties to dine there, and many jaunts to hurry Bromwich, and the carver, and Clermont [who was painting the library ceiling] are my material occupations.”

There are two other illuminating references to Bromwich in Walpole's letters. One was to Bentley in what was perhaps the most caustic epistle Walpole ever penned—he began it: “If this does not turn out a scolding letter I am much mistaken.” The other was to John Chute (the “Mr. Chute” for whom a special guest-chamber was kept prepared at Strawberry Hill).

Bentley's great abilities, wit, and likeableness did not deceive Walpole as to his friend's visionary schemes and inveterate indolence. On the 20th November, 1754, Walpole had occasion to write to him as follows:—

“Whenever you send me mighty cheap schemes for finding out longitudes and philosopher stones, you will excuse me if I only smile and dont order them to be examined by my council. For heaven's sake, dont be a projector. Is it not provoking that with the best parts in the world you should have so gentle a portion of common sense? . . . You tell me in your letter of November 3rd that the quarry of granite* may be rented at twenty pounds, or twenty shillings, I dont know which, no matter, per annum. When I cannot get a table out of it, is it very likely you or I should get a fortune out of it? . . . Who should be the supervisor? You, who are so good a manager, so attentive, so diligent, and so accurate? . . . Another article to which I might apply the same questions is the project for the importation of French wine; it is odd that a scheme so cheap and so practicable should hitherto have

* The project of the granite quarry was one that Bentley did not readily allow to drop, for on the 5th July, 1755, Walpole wrote to him again:—

“You vex me exceedingly. I beg if it is not too late that you would not send me these two new quarries of granite. I had rather pay a rich price and leave them where they are than be encumbered with them. My house is already a stone-cutter's shop, neither do I know what to do with what I have got. . . . Not to talk any more crossly, and to prevent, if I can, for the future, any more of these expostulations, I must tell you plainly that with regard to my own circumstances I generally drive to a penny, and have no money to spare for visions.”

been totally overlooked. One would think the breed of smugglers was lost like the true spaniels or genuine golden pippins. My dear sir, you know I never drink three glasses of any wine, can you think I care whether they are sour or sweet, cheap or dear? But now comes your last proposal about the Gothic paper. When you made me fix up mine unpainted, engaging to paint it yourself and yet could never be persuaded to paint a yard of it, until I was forced to give Bromwich's man God knows what to do it, would you make me seriously believe that you will paint a room eighteen feet by fifteen?"

This was no doubt the paper on the hall and staircase, for a short time earlier Walpole had excused himself for not being able to pay George Montagu a visit on the ground that "I cannot leave my workmen, especially as we have a painter who paints the paper on the staircase under Mr. Bentley's direction." In the light of the letter quoted above, and what we know of Bentley, we would say that the phrase, "under Mr. Bentley's direction" was a *façon de parler*, having little, if any, relation to fact. If, as one surmises, it was "Bromwich's man" who did the work, he seems to have done it satisfactorily, for writing to Bentley a year later, after visiting Latimers, Walpole mentions:—

"The great dining-room is hung with the paper of my staircase, but not shaded properly like mine."

Possibly a little jealousy entered into this criticism. Walpole had himself stayed at Latimers some years before, and owned it was considerably improved, though he told Bentley: "The house has undergone Batty Langley discipline. Half the ornaments are of his bastard Gothic and half of Hallet's mongrel Chinese."*

Walpole's other known reference to Bromwich was provoked over a *protégé* of Bentley's. This was a young Swiss named Müntz, who had been in the French Army, but on his regiment being disbanded after the war, had found refuge in Jersey, where Bentley, keeping out of the way of his own creditors, had met him, and recognising in him a kindred spirit, had recommended him to Walpole. In a letter to Bentley on the 3rd November, 1754, Walpole asks for some samples of "your Swiss's abilities":—

"Mr. Chute and I even propose, if he should be tolerable, and would continue reasonable, to tempt him over hither, and make

* Langley was a contemporary architect and writer on architecture—he published "Gothic Architecture Improved," in 1747, and "A Treasury of Designs" in 1750—Hallet a cabinet-maker. Walpole did not disguise his dislike of both: "I want to write over the doors of most modern edifices: Repaired and beautified: Langley & Hallet, Churchwardens!"

him work upon your designs—upon which, you know, it is not easy to make you work. If he improves upon our hands do you think we shall purchase the fee simple for him for so many years, as Mr. Smith* did of Canaletti."

What Walpole specially wanted to know was, "Can he paint perspectives, and cathedral aisles, and holy glooms?" How typical, this enquiry of "the Great Dilettante," as Walpole has been called!

Eventually, Müntz arrives on the scene, for in a letter dated the 19th of June, 1755, Walpole writes very tartly to Bentley:—

"Mr. Müntz has arrived. I am sorry I can by no means give commendation to the hurried step you took about him. Ten guineas were a great deal too much to advance to him, and must raise expectations in him that will not at all answer."

Müntz found pleasant quarters at Strawberry Hill until 12th November, 1759, on which day Walpole briefly records in his Journal: "I dismissed Mr. Müntz." There were times when he spoke of Müntz in terms of high praise, but probably his real opinion came out in a letter to Bentley in January, 1756, when he says:—

"He (Müntz) seems to wonder (for he has not a little of your indolence: I am not surprised you took to him) that I am continually employed every minute of the day, reading, writing, forming plans; in short, you know me. He is an inoffensive good creature, but had rather ponder over a foreign gazette than a pallet."

In July of the following year comes a letter to John Chute, with its reference to Bromwich:—

"Mr. Müntz is not gone. But pray do not think that I keep him. He has absolutely done nothing this whole summer but paste two chimney boards; in short, instead of Claude Lorrain, he is only one of Bromwich's men."

Müntz was evidently a bit of an "old man of the sea," and, one would surmise, scarcely earned his keep. Less than a week after his dismissal, Walpole, writing to George Montagu, said:—

"The cause of Müntz going was nothing but a tolerable quantity of ingratitude on his side both to me and Mr. Bentley. . . . The substance was most extreme impertinence to me, concluded by an abusive letter against Mr. Bentley, who sent him from starvation on seven pictures for a guinea to 100 a year, my house, table, and utmost countenance. In short, I turned his head, and was forced to turn him out of doors."

* Joseph Smith (1682-1770), British Consul at Venice, a famous collector and art patron. Walpole sneered at him (undeservedly) as the "merchant of Venice" who knew nothing of his books except their title-pages.

We have let Walpole's own words (as far as they can) tell the story of his connection with Bentley, Müntz, and Bromwich, because they help us to picture how seriously one individual at least in the middle of the 18th century took his hobby of home-making.

Bromwich appears to have been one of the best-known paper-stainers of the day. According to the London Guide there was in 1763, at Ludgate Hill, a firm known as Bromwich & Leigh (though it is evident from Walpole's references that Bromwich was in business at least ten years earlier). By 1766 Leigh seems to have dropped out, for the firm is mentioned in that year as "Thomas Bromwich." London Directories of 1767 to 1783 include the firm of Bromwich, Isherwood & Bradley, the address being given as No. 35, Ludgate Hill; while later the firm became Isherwood & Bradley, their trade card bearing the words, "late partners with Mr. Bromwich."

A POET'S SHOPPING FOR A FRIEND

Not only was Horace Walpole a customer of Bromwich's, but Walpole's friend, Thomas Gray, the poet, was also well acquainted with the shop on Ludgate Hill. It was at "Mr. Bromwich's," after scouring the town for suitable papers for one of his other friends—Dr. Wharton, of Old Park, Durham—his "dear, dear Doctor"—that he finally made his selection.

Gray's taste, like Walpole's, ran to the Gothic, and he took keen interest in Wharton's efforts to refurbish his Durham mansion something on the lines of Strawberry Hill. It is true that after, in the first place, lamenting the absence of anything "that deserves the name of Gothic," he eventually found a number of papers which pleased him, but we may be sure that even so they had as "correct" and formal an appearance as it was possible to find.*

Gray's quest on behalf of Dr. Wharton took place in the autumn of 1761. In a letter dated 8th September, he writes:—

"I am just come to Town where I shall stay six weeks or more and (if you will send me your dimensions) will look out for papers at the shops. I own I never yet saw any Gothic papers to my fancy.

* Gray had evidently tried to get some "tolerable" tapestry for his friend. In a letter dated September 10th, 1759, he speaks of having seen none that would please him at any price. He added:—"I doubt if any bargain of that kind is to be met with, except at some old mansion sale in the country, where people sell disdained tapestry because, they hear, that paper is all the fashion."

There is one fault that is in the nature of the thing and cannot be avoided. The great beauty of all Gothic designs is the variety of the perspectives they occasion. This a Painter may represent on the walls of a room in some measure, not a Designer of Papers, where what is represented on one breadth must be exactly represented on another both in the light and shade, and in dimensions. This we cannot help; but they do not even do what they might; they neglect Hollar* to copy Mr. Halfpenny's† architecture, so that all they do is more like a goose-pie than a cathedral. You seem to suppose they do Gothic papers in colours, but I never saw any but such as were to look like Stucco, nor indeed do I conceive that they could have any effect or meaning. Lastly, I never saw anything of gilding such as you mention on paper, but we shall see. Only pray leave as little to my judgment as possible."

Writing six weeks later Gray appears to have found quite a number of papers which he thought might serve in the absence of better:—

"... after rumageing Mr. Bromwich's and several other shops I am forced to tell you that there are absolutely no papers at all that deserve the name of Gothick or that you would bear the sight of. They are all what they call *fancy*, and indeed resemble nothing that ever was in use in any age or country."

He goes on to advise Wharton that what he himself would do would be to take a man capable of sketching to Durham Cathedral and there copy some of the ornamentations, or, failing that, choose something from Dart's Canterbury or Dugdale's Warwickshire, "and send it to me in London to have a stamp made of it provided you will take 20 pieces," and continues:—

"... or shall I take a Man here to Westminster and let him copy some of its fret works? ... I much doubt of the effect colours (in other than tints of Stucco) would have in a Gothic design on paper and fear they have nothing to judge from. Those

* Hollar (Wenceslaus) was a gifted engraver who was born at Prague in 1607, and came to England in 1636, in the suite of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who, while in Cologne as Ambassador to the German Emperor, had been attracted by the young Bohemian's work. Hollar was not only a skilful, but a most prolific engraver. His enumerated works ran to 2,733, and included scenes from the Bible, historical pictures, maps, portraits, and views of cities. He became Designer to the King (Charles II). Pepys records, on November 22nd, 1666 (after the Great Fire): "My Lord Brouncker did show me Hollar's new print of the City, with a pretty representation of that part which is burnt, very fine indeed; and tells me that he was yesterday sworn the King's servant, and that the King hath commanded him to go on with his great map of the City, which he was upon before the City was burned, like Gombout of Paris, which I am glad of."

† Mr. Halfpenny, whose architectural ideas provoked the irony of Gray, must not be confused with Joseph Halfpenny, son of the Archbishop of York's gardener, and who, in 1795, began to publish "Gothic Ornament in the Cathedral Church of York," a work of considerable value. Gray's Mr. Halfpenny was William Halfpenny, of Richmond, who sometimes called himself "Carpenter and Architect," but had not hesitated just before this date to publish, in conjunction with his brother John, several pretentious works, including: "New Designs for Chinese Temples" (1750-52), "Rural Architecture in the Gothic Taste" (1752), "Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste" (1750-52), and "Chinese and Gothic Architecture Properly Ornamented" (1752).

I spoke of at Ely were green and pale blue with the raised work white, if you care to hazard it. I saw an all-silver paper quite plain, and it looked like block tin. In short there is nothing I would venture to send you. One of 3d. a yard in small compartments thus (small drawing here) might perhaps do for the staircase, but very likely it is common and besides it is not pure Gothic, therefore I would not send it alone."

One suspects from these letters that the "dear, dear Doctor" was by no means as fervent a Gothicismist as Gray.* Gothic papers in colours, forsooth! And that hankering after "gilding!" Apparently, however, he managed to convince his friend that something not quite so orthodox as the latter was seeking would content him, for writing again on November 13th, Gray says:—

"I went as soon as I received your last letter to choose papers for you at Bromwich's. I applaud your determination, for it is mere pedantry in Gothicism to stick to nothing but altars and tombs, and there is no end to it if we are to sit upon nothing but Coronation chairs nor drink out of nothing but chalices and flagons . . . I have, however, ventured to bespeak (for the staircase) a Stucco paper of 3d. a yard which I mentioned to you before. It is rather pretty and nearly Gothick, the border is entirely so and where it runs horizontally will be very proper; where perpendicularly not altogether so. . . . the crimson paper is the handsomest I ever saw; from its simplicity, I believe, as it is nothing but the same thing repeated throughout. Mr. Trevor (*query*, Trevor Hampden, one of the postmasters-general) designed it for his own use. The border is a spiral scroll, also the prettiest I have seen. This paper is 8d. a yard. The blew is the most extravagant, a mohair flock paper of a shilling a yard, which I fear you will blame me for; but it was so handsome and looked so well I could not resist it. The pattern is small and will look like cut velvet; the border, a scroll like the last, but on a larger scale. You ask why the crimson (which was to be the best) is not a mohair paper; because it would have no effect in that sort of pattern; and it is as handsome as it need be without that expense. The library paper is a cloth colour; all I can say for it is that it was the next best design they had after the former. I think it is 7½d. a yard. They do not keep any quantity by them (only samples of each sort), but promised they shall be finished in a week and sent to your brothers, with whom I have left the bill."

Further evidence as to the standing of Bromwich as a paper-stainer is obtained from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys. After a visit

* A two-colour Gothic paper of the stucco-like type that came into existence in response to the mediævalism of Gray and Walpole is seen in Plate 40.

to Mrs. Freeman's at Fawley Court, Bucks. (Oct., 1771), she records :—

“On the left hand of the saloon is a large billiard-room hung with the most beautiful pink India paper, adorn'd with very good prints, the borders cut out and the ornaments put on with great taste by Bromwich.

“The dressing-room to this is prettier than 'tis possible to imagine, the most curious India paper has birds, flowers, etc., put up as different pictures in frames of the same, with festoons, India baskets, figures, etc., on a pea-green paper, Mr. Bromwich having again display'd his taste as in the billiard-room below, and both have an effect wonderfully pleasing.”

Bromwich evidently laid himself out to cater for every kind of taste. He could turn from supplying something formal at the requirement of patrons like Walpole and Gray, to giving his fancy rein in imitations of the beautiful Chinese floral papers, which, about this time, as will appear, were a dominating influence in ideas of decoration. His versatility was considerable, as may be judged from the wording of one of his trade-cards during his partnership with Leigh (1763-66), now preserved in the Franks Collection* in the Print Room at the British Museum. Surmounted by a lion rampant in a cartouche, the advertisement runs :—

BROMWICH & LEIGH
at the
Golden Lyon on Ludgate Hill
London

Have the greatest choice of Paper Hangings
and Papier Mache Ornaments
of their own Manufactory to suit all sorts of
Furniture.

Rooms fitted up with gilt Leather, Indian Pictures,
or Prints, etc. Great variety of Screens, Looking-
Glasses, Brackets, Gerandoles & Picture Frames,
Gilt or Plain, at the lowest Prices.

Indian Pictures & Paper Hangings
for Exportation.

Wigley Sculp.

Poppins Alley.

* Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, who was born at Geneva in 1826, and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, after being Assistant in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum, became Keeper of Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography, 1866. He was President of the Society of Antiquaries from 1891 until his death in 1897. He applied large private means to purchasing porcelain and other objects of Oriental and Mediæval art, and enlarging the Henry Christy Ethnographical Collection. His own acquisitions were mostly presented or bequeathed to the British Museum.

CHIPPENDALE AND GARRICK

About the middle of the century two other historical figures come upon the scene in connection with wallpaper—Thomas Chippendale and David Garrick. What is more, they come on together, the leading cabinet-maker and the leading actor of their day, and their association can be traced in the actual account which Chippendale's firm rendered for work done and goods supplied to Garrick, when the latter entered his new house in the fashionable quarter, just built upon the north bank of the Thames by the brothers Adam, and known as the Adelphi.

Chippendale, who came of a family of cabinet-makers at Otley, in Yorkshire, had gone to London about 1740 in order to find wider scope for carrying out commissions in decorating country houses. He has given his name to a style (or rather various styles) of furniture, but in addition he undertook furnishing and decorating generally, including paper-hanging and upholstery.

In his "Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director" (1754) are two pages of designs of borders for paper-hangings, scroll-work *motifs* ingeniously repeated to form an ornate decoration in the style of Louis XV, which inspired a good deal of Chippendale's earlier work. It was a style which that purist, Isaac Ware, who had been a chimney-sweep's boy and rose to "surveyor to the King," and one of the leading architects of the day, found so distasteful, and felt constrained to refer to in his "Complete Body of Architecture" (1756) as follows: "It is our misfortune at this time to see an unmeaning scrawl of C's inverted and looped together, taking the place of Greek and Roman elegance even in our most expensive decorations. It is called French, and let them have the praise of it. The Gothic shaft and Chinese bell are not beyond nor below it in poorness of imagination."

Chippendale later, especially during his middle period, when he aimed at supplying his clients with the fashionable rococo Gothic and Chinese, but in his own inimitable interpretation of those styles with his unerring sense of beauty of form, was fond of recommending Chinese papers as a background to some of his creations in the way of "moveables." He speaks in one place of his chairs in the Chinese manner as "very appropriate for a lady's dressing-room, especially if hung with India (Chinese) paper, and they will likewise suit Chinese tempels."

Invoices still in existence* show that the Chinese wallpaper at Nostell Priory, Yorkshire (referred to later) was hung by Chippendale. In all probability, he also supplied the green lacquer furniture in the same room, though most of the furniture he executed for this mansion, including some of the finest pieces associated with his name, was in mahogany. Chippendale would not be regarded as overcharging in these days if we take the following four items from his account (dated 1769), as representing present-day values :—

	£	s.	d.
To covering 9 chimney boards with blue verditer paper and putting borders round ditto	1	16	0
„ Taking down the paper of the Bed Chamber and repairing the wainscot	0	16	0
„ Paper, paste and hanging the Room with your India paper upon canvas	3	10	0
„ 78 yards of border	0	13	0

When Garrick went into No. 5, Adelphi Terrace, in 1772, to indulge the social ambitions which both he and his wife acquired, Chippendale, who had co-operated with Robert Adam in several of the latter's decorative schemes, was called in to help in furnishing the new house in the best and latest taste. A few items from the account are reproduced below :—

Adelphi Drawing Room.		£	s.	d.
To Deal for battens, Nails and fixing proper fastening for Hangings		1	2	0
„ 80 yards Canvas in hangings @ 8d.		2	13	4
„ 10 quires Cartridge paper		0	11	0
„ Hanging the Canvas and papers, tacks, paste, etc., included		2	4	0
„ 440 feet neat Carvd Leaf Border Gilt in Burnished Gold and fixing complete, Brass Pins, etc., included ..		25	13	0
Back Room, one pair stairs.				
To Battens, Nails and preparing Room with proper fastengs for Hangings		0	16	0
„ 72 yards Canvas to hang the Room		2	8	0
„ 7 quires Cartridge paper		0	7	6
„ Hanging the Canvas and Paper, Tacks, Paste, etc., included		1	12	0
„ ditto the Room with your own India Paper, Paste, etc.		3	16	0

Garrick had a country villa at Hampton-on-Thames, in the decoration of which Chippendale was, no doubt, also employed. One of the bed-rooms was

* Quoted more fully in Oliver Brackets's "Thomas Chippendale" (London, 1924).

hung with a Chinese paper which formed a proper setting to a bedstead japanned in green and yellow (Chippendale had made a green and yellow sofa and chairs for the Adelphi Terrace house) and hung with Indian chintz. The hangings were specially prized because they were a present to Garrick from some Calcutta admirers.

In the interests of home manufacturers of cotton and linen goods, it was illegal at that period to use imported cotton fabrics. During alterations at the house at Hampton, in 1775, the "unfortunate chintz," as Garrick called it, "was seized, the very bed, by the coarse hands of filthy dungeon villains and thrown amongst ye smuggled (articles?)." Garrick wrote to solicit the good offices of Sir Gray Cooper, Joint Secretary of the Treasury, who promised to do what he could with "Secretary" Stanley, of the Customs Board, though he feared "the Linnen drapers and Cotton printers and all that cursed Bourgeoisie will be as powerful as they are merciless, but let Mrs. Garrick be assured that all that the secular arm can do shall be done and as strongly exerted as if the present had been from the Nabob of Our to our Most Gracious Queen."

Garrick followed up his petition to Sir Gray Cooper with an amusing versified appeal to "Secretary" Stanley, beginning:—

"O, Stanley, give ear to a husband's petition
Whose wife well deserves her distressful condition."

and continuing:—

" 'Tis true, as 'tis sad, since the first Eve undid 'em
Frail women will long for the fruit that's forbid 'em,
And Husbands are taught nowadays, spite of struggles,
Politely to pardon a Wife tho' she smuggles."

Between them the appeals secured release of the offending chintz, and the bed with the original hangings is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Another Chippendale account containing illuminating references to wall-paper relates to the decoration of Mersham-le-Hatch, Ashford, Kent, in 1767, for Sir Edward Knatchbull. It is touched on in an interesting article on Mersham-le-Hatch by H. Avray Tipping, M.A., which appeared in *Country Life*, on April 12th, 1924, but it throws so much light on the paper-hanging business of the period that the principal items relating to the paper-hangings are worth setting down *in extenso**:—

* By permission of Captain the Hon. Michael Knatchbull.

	£	s.	d.
To Paste & Hanging the Alcove Bedchamber	1	3	0
12 Pieces of strip'd Verditure 8/-	4	16	0
6 doz. Borders 5/-	0	12	0
Paste & Hanging the Closet adjoining wt. 2 Papers	0	10	0
2 Papers for ditto	0	4	6
Verditure & Colouring the Room	1	1	0
To size Paste & Hanging the dressing room with 2 Papers	1	5	0
To Lumberhand & Cartridge Paper	0	10	6
To Verditure & Colouring the Room	4	6	0
180 Feet of Papie Mashie Border Painted Blue & White /6. ..	4	10	0
Pins & Fixing up the Border	0	12	6
To Cutting out the Prints, Borders & Ornaments & Hanging them in the Room Complete	14	10	0
To 506 Printed Borders @ /2	4	4	4
103 ditto Festoons /3	1	5	9
91 ditto Corners /2½	0	18	11½
11 Bustes & 18 Sayters & Lions Masks /4	0	9	8
39 Rings & 12 Masks /1½	0	6	4½
74 Knotts /1½	0	9	3
11 Vases /6	0	5	6
26 Baskets & 8 Sheets of Chains	0	12	0
18 Patterns & 3 Pedestals /2	0	3	6
To Paste & Hanging the Bedchamber & drefsing room on the Ground floor, North front	1	11	6
17 Pieces of Chintz Paper 5/-	4	5	0
12 doz. Yds. Borders 1/-	0	12	0
Paste & Hanging the Back rooms on the Ground floor	1	10	0
16 Pieces of Strabery Chintz at 5/-	4	0	0
12 doz. Yds. Borders	0	12	0
To Paste & Hanging the front Attic Bedchamber & drefsing room	1	6	0
14 Pieces small Chintz Paper 5/-	3	10	0
12 doz. Yds. Border	0	12	0
To Paste & Hanging the North Attick Bedchamber & drefsing room	1	2	0
12 Pieces fine Strawberry Sprig 6/-	3	12	0
12 doz. Yds. Rail Border	0	12	0
To Paste Paper & Hanging 2 Papers under the windows for Painting	0	10	0
To Paste and Hanging the 4 Attic Rooms on ye West wing	2	10	0
14 Pieces Sprig Paper 3/-	2	2	0
13 Pieces Yarmouth Sprig 3/-	1	19	0
28 doz. Yds. Border	1	8	0
Paste, Paper & Hanging 2 Papers under the windows for Painting on	0	8	0

The Mans Travelling Expenses, going & coming					
126 Miles, at /3d per Mile	..	..	..	..	1 11 6
12 Weeks & 4 days Lodging	..	@	1/6	..	0 19 0
12 Weeks & 4 days Board	..	@	7/6	..	4 15 0
Carriage paid by the Man of sundry parcels	..	..	..	..	0 4 1

The items from the Chippendale accounts quoted above are interesting for many reasons. Apart from the proof they afford that Chippendale included paper-hanging in his activities—and at remarkably reasonable charges—they are eloquent of the practice of the day.

The Nostell Priory reference to covering chimney boards with blue verditer paper is confirmation of the fashion of imitating the painted and carved overmantels to be found in the mansions of the great nobles by affixing a suitable panel of decorated paper (usually Chinese in feeling), with an appropriate border. There is no doubt the two chimney boards, the pasting of which Mr. Müntz made to last a whole summer at Strawberry Hill (see page 75), were decorations of this type.

It is evident that the practice obtained of cutting out, not only borders but such *motifs* as festoons, corners, busts, satyrs, masks, knots (ribbons), vases, pedestals, baskets, and chains. These were pasted in their appropriate position to form a decorative scheme according to the fancy of the paper-hanger, and they were charged for separately.

Many of them were evidently used, along with imitation paper frames, as enrichments to prints and other papers pasted direct on the walls. A splendid instance of this is seen in what is called the "Engravings Room" at Woodhall, Herts. Here, as described by H. Avray Tipping, M.A., in *Country Life* of February 7th, 1925, the decorations "design'd and finished by R. Parker, 1782" correspond exactly with a working sketch of the scheme which is still in existence. The engravings are all pasted on the wall and given a completed look by framing them with paper printed to represent the customary gilt frames, the scheme of decoration being varied by using also swags, scrolls, and other appropriate *motifs* in paper. Some of the engravings hang on ribboned nails with ornamental heads, and from them depend miniatures on swagged chains. Paper busts, plinths, vases and candelabra have their places in this very elaborate scheme.

Mr. Tipping makes a strong point of the probability that the great variety of shapes, sizes and forms of these paper decorations implies

a fairly wide demand, as the cost would be very great unless they were printed in quantity; but, as we have seen from the Mersham-le-Hatch account, the prices only ranged from 1½d. to 6d. per item.*

The prices of from 5/- to 8/- per piece for papers for what may be regarded as good rooms are in keeping with the prices Gray paid for Dr. Wharton's papers at Bromwich's, and are confirmed also by an account dated 1790, for paper-hangings done for Lord Spencer at Althorp, Northants., by Robson, Hale & Co., of 218, Piccadilly, who described themselves as "paper-hanging manufacturers to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York." Two of the items were for "6 Pcs. Medallian French Paper (by Lady Spencer), at 8/-," and "38 Pcs. Hornsey Chintz roses, blue on green, at 7/-."

The method sometimes employed in hanging the best papers is quite clear from reference in the Garrick account to the battened frame, first covered with canvas, then with sheets of cartridge paper, and last of all with the precious "India" paper-hanging. It is interesting to note that by far the most expensive part of the wall decoration in Garrick's case appears to have been the carved and gilded border which was regarded as a proper finish to the top of the walls,—though at Nostell Priory and at Mersham-le-Hatch, as we have seen, Chippendale used paper borders which were far from costly, and were probably something like those he illustrated in his "Director," or that Gray bought at Bromwich's for Dr. Wharton.

In addition to the rococo borders of the type designed by Chippendale, paper imitations of "egg and tongue" and other stucco effects (see Plates 71, 72, and 73) became popular about this time for use as borders to "finish off" the top of the paper, and to frame panels, mantelpieces, and "overdoor" decorations.

Sheraton, essaying to show his clients the latest and most fashionable furnishings, gives in his "Cabinet Makers and Upholsterers' Drawing-Book" (1793) designs for a drawing-room which he presents as the very best taste for such an apartment. He claims that it is a composite effort of his own, based on the drawing-rooms of "the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and several other noblemen." In his description of the sketches he says: "The panelling on the walls are done in

* Similar decorations on a simpler scale are still to be seen at Rokeby, at Heveningham, at Strathfield Saye, and at the Vyne. Compare also the paper from Bourton Old Manor, mentioned on page 69, and the printed frames described by Walpole in his letter to Mann (page 72).

paper with ornamented borders of various colours." These are shown bearing a scroll-work pattern, less elaborate and much more flowing than those of Chippendale.

OTHER EARLY LONDON PAPER-STAINERS

Besides Deighton and Bromwich, Jackson had several other rivals whose names have come down to us, and no doubt many others of whom there is now no trace. Appended are the names of paper-stainers or paperhanging manufacturers in business in London, Westminster, and Southwark, in Jackson's lifetime. (The date assigned to each is not necessarily when the firm started business, but the earliest year authentically associated with it in contemporary London directories or other records) :—

1731. *John Seagood, Royal Exchange.

1759. John Hall, Aldermanbury. (In 1782, Abraham Hall, 8, Aldermanbury).
Salt & Baker, 103, Cheapside.

1763. Samuel Smith, Aldgate. (In 1767, William Smith, 90, Blackman Street, Southwark; and in 1770, Richard Smith, Catherine Wheel Alley, Whitechapel, and Samuel Smith & Co., Kingsland).

1764. †Robert Stark, 41, Ludgate Hill. (In 1837, Boyle & Johnston).

1765. *James Wheeley, 174, Aldersgate Street. (In 1775, at 5, Little Britain; in 1785, at 25, Aldersgate Street; and in 1813, at Saffron Hill).

1766. §Crompton & Spinnage, Cockspur Street, Charing Cross. (1771, Benjamin Crompton & Son).

1767. Joseph & Thomas Cox, Thomas' Street, Black's Field. (In 1830, W. & T. Cox, 29, Playhouse Yard, Whitecross Street).

William & Thos. Jones, 71, Holborn. (In 1774, Thos. Jones, 57, Shoe Lane, Holborn, and in 1778, William Jones, Ray Street, Clerkenwell).

Samuel Harford, 33, Milk Street.

* See reference in pages 88 and 89, and Plates 41 and 42.

† According to an old trade-card in possession of Ambrose Heal, of Tottenham Court Road, London (who possesses some 5,000 such advertisements), Stark sold "all sorts of Paper Hangings for Rooms, etc., and Matches Paper to Damasks and Linen, has also great variety of India pictures, Likewise ornaments Halls and Staircases with Landskips, Ruins, Figures, etc., on Paper and Canvas in the Genteelst & best Manner on ye most Reasonable Terms. N.B.—All sorts of Stationary Wares."

§ Mrs. Lybbe Powys, in her Diary, tells of a visit to Sir Walter Blount's seat at Mawley (Sept. 22nd, 1771): "Lady Blount's dressing-room you may imagine elegant: fine India paper, on pea-green, put up by Spinnage, with equal taste as Mrs. Freeman's by Bromwich." (See page 79). A trade-card in Ambrose Heal's collection speaks of Crompton & Spinnage as manufacturers (wholesale and retail) of "Paperhangings of all Sorts for Home Trade and Exportation." They also dealt, among other wares, in *papier mâché* ornaments and painted floor cloths.

1769. John Brooks, 39, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
John Brown, Fleet Street. (Afterwards at 45, Cheapside;
in 1840, Battam, Craske & Coleby were at this address as
paperhanging manufacturers).
1774. William Fry, 3, Ludgate Hill.
Moore & Gough, 6, Aldgate Without, and 11, Great Bell
Alley, Coleman Street. (In 1780, Moore & Co.; in 1795,
Moore & Rickman; up to 1840, Moore & Co.)
Armitage & Roper, 63, Bishopsgate Street Within. (In 1791,
Armitage & Moore).
1775. *Matthias Darly, the Strand.
Nathaniel Taylor, Lower East Smithfield.
1778. John Sigrist, 218, Piccadilly. (In 1790, same address, Robson,
Hale, & Hawley; in 1792, Robson & Hale; in 1821, address
changed to 214, Piccadilly; in 1837, title to Robson & Co.;
in 1838, Horatio Robson & Co.; in 1840, G. H. M. Robson
& Co.; in 1847, Robson & Jones, "decorators to the Queen";
in 1858, Jones & Co.; in 1866 Robson & Jones again; in 1880,
address changed to 8, Old Bond Street; in 1881, name drops
out).
1779. †Tootle & Young, Playhouse Yard.
1780. *Richard Masefield, 427, Strand.
§Allen, 158, Fenchurch Street ("Upholder to the Bank of
England.")
§Webster & Brown, at the Royal Tent, the Foot of the Side,
Newcastle.
§Buzzard, 109, High Holborn.
§Will Darby, at The Bear and Crown, Aldermanbury.
§H. Martin & Co., 134, Regent Street.
§Wheatley & Ridsdale, at the Lamb, in Clement's Lane, Lombard
Street.

* See reference in pages 89 and 90, and Plates 43 and 44

† Fischbach, a German authority on wallpaper, mentioning Tootle & Young as producers of English "Chinese," says they continued in business until 1807. He also makes special reference to Messrs. Pickering, Boyle & Graves, who, he says, were prominent paper-stainers from 1767 to 1795. There is continuous record of a Christopher Boyle, "merchant," in business at Golden Cross Court, Cateaton Street, from 1767 until 1779, when the name disappears from the directories, but curiously enough in that year begins mention of Pickering, Boyle & Graves, paper manufacturers, 103, Cheapside (followed in 1785 by Robert Pickering, paperhanging manufacturer, 7, Watling Street; 1788, 23, Wood Street; and 1791, 61, Cheapside; the name disappearing altogether in 1795). Graves appears to have revived as Graves & Fricker at 29, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, in 1797, the firm becoming T. Fricker in 1799; Fricker & Henderson, 161, New Bond Street, in 1800, ending as Jas. Henderson, carver and gilder, 80, New Bond Street, in 1821. In "Cambridge Fragments" the late Charles Sayle records that in the Spring of 1912 the Librarian of Sidney Sussex College (the late J. W. Reynolds) showed him among the College muniments some fragments of old wallpaper on which was printed the name "Christopher Boyes," and he asks if anything is known of him and his work? Is it possible Sayle mistook the name "Christopher Boyle?" The present writers have tried to trace the fragments, but without success.

§ From the Franks Collection in the British Museum, and probably dating from about 1750 to 1770.

According to Digby Wyatt, a "Mr. Harwood,* who possessed a large capital," about the middle of the 18th century bought a business which had been for some time established at Chelsea. He is credited with having originated papers in which a bronze, or imitation gold powder, was used in the same way as "flock," and further with inventing satin papers. Digby Wyatt records the curious circumstance that whilst Battersea Bridge was being built—London County Council records give the date as 1771-2—Harwood's workpeople went on strike, and the resourceful manufacturer replaced them with men working on the bridge. Labour evidently was more interchangeable and versatile in those days than these.

In "Philosophical Transactions," L19, for 1756, reference is made to "Mr. Butler, a paper-stainer, who tried to make some discoveries for the better fixing of colours."

OLD-TIME TRADE CARDS

Whereas Jackson, in his *chiaro oscuro* period, specialised in reproductions of Old Masters and classical landscapes which had an undoubted affinity to the elaborate scenic papers that later had a great vogue in France, his competitors seem to have continued to cultivate more geometrical patterns and, in addition, papers imitating other materials and papers done in the Chinese style.

The four trade cards reproduced in Plates 41, 42, 43, and 44 are not only interesting of themselves, but they throw interesting light on the sale of paper-hangings during the 18th century. That of John Seagood, now in the Library of the London Guildhall, is a particularly fine specimen of contemporary engraving; and as its date can be fixed from memoranda on the back as not later than 1731, it is confirmation of the fact that early in the century the export of paper-hangings was thought worth catering for.

* Towards the end of the century (in 1798), Harwoods had a wholesale paper-hanging warehouse at 21, Old Bond Street, taken over from Bowers, Ackards & Co., who were established at this address in 1791 (*c.f.* Eckhards & Co., who had rooms at 8, Old Bond Street a little earlier—see page 110). In 1817 Harwoods removed their factory from Chelsea to Upper George Street, Portman Square, where, in 1833, they were spoken of as "the great firm of Harwoods," with about eighty printing tables, and credited with being the first to introduce "blending and patching" in block-printing. They were succeeded in 1844 by Stevens & MacClary, and they in turn by Stuteley, who was among the first machine printers, and whose process eventually "passed into the hands of a Manchester house" (probably Heywood, Higginbottom, and Smith, of Hyde Road).

The other three, from the Banks Collection in the British Museum, are eloquent of the range of patterns available later in the century, and of the manner in which the retail sale of the papers was conducted. The text of the four cards is reproduced below for convenience of reference :—

JOHN SEAGOOD, Stationer and Bookseller, at the Golden Bible, the North Gate of the Royal Exchange, London. Sells all Sorts of Stationary Wares Wholesale & Retail at the Lowest Prices. N.B.—Paper Hangings, &c., for Exportation. All Sorts of Stamps. Bills of Exchange in All Languages.

At JAMES WHEELLEYS Paper Hanging Warehouse, opposite the Church in little Britain, London, are Manufactor'd & Sold all sorts of Emboss'd Chints & Common Papers for Rooms, with great variety of Papieé Machee & other Ornaments for Cielings, Halls, Staircases, &c. N.B.—All kind of furniture are exactly Match'd and compleatly put up.

MASEFIELD'S Original Mock India Paper Hanging and Papier Machée Manufactory in the Strand, London. The Nobility, &c., may be supplied on the best Terms with all sorts of Paper Hangings, Paintings of Landscapes, Festoons, and Trophies, India Paper, Papier Machée, Ornaments, &c.; and a Mock India Paper, made after a method peculiar to himself, which surpasses everything of the kind yet attempted, and for Variety, Beauty, and Duration equal to the Real India Paper. N.B.—Merchants & Dealers may be Supplied on the least notice and lowest Prices.

The MANUFACTORY for Paper Hangings, Painted or Printed from Copper Plates or Wood, by MATTS. DARLY, Painter, Engraver, & Paper Stainer, Wholesale & Retail, at the Lowest Price. At the Acorn, facing Hungerford, Strand. Cielings, Pannels, Staircases, Chimney Boards, &c. Neatly fitted up either with Paintings or Stainings in the Modern, Gothic, or Chinese Tastes for Town or Country; & large Allowance for Ready Money. N.B.—Paper for Exportation and Sketches or Designs for Gentlemen's Different Fancies. Letters post paid Duly Answered. Engraving in all its Branches, viz.: Visiting Tickets, Coats of Arms, Seals, Book Plates, Frontispieces, Shopkeepers' Bills, &c., in Greater Variety and Cheaper than at any other Shop in Town.

Both Wheelley and Masefield in their cards emphasised their salesmanship, laying stress on the courtesy and "service" customers might expect to meet with at their premises. Except that nowadays the use of pattern-books has become so important a part of this side of the business, we are shown scenes which might be reproduced almost anywhere to-day—a paperhanger displaying his wares to his clients, the walls of his shop

or warehouse lined with shelves stacked with "pieces" exactly as may be seen in a thousand modern wallpaper shops.

Darby appears to have been a "Jack-of-all-trades." Not only did he engrave a great many of the plates in Chippendale's "The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director," for the three editions between 1754 and 1762, but he collaborated with Edwards, his fellow-illustrator of the "Director," in bringing out in the former year a book full of engravings of Chinese buildings, customs, and scenery, and containing also a few designs for furniture. It is by no means unlikely that his association with Chippendale, who, as we have seen, undertook in addition to cabinet-making, general decoration, upholstery, and paperhanging, led him to set up his business in the Strand.

The value of actual contemporary documents like these cannot be over-estimated when we try to visualise the past. The compiler of the Banks Collection was Miss Sarah Sophia Banks, a sister of the great botanist, Sir Joseph Banks. She died in 1818, in her 75th year. She appears to have been a most discriminating collector of engravings and other material bearing on the ceremonials and occupations of her generation, and one is inclined to attach importance to any notes that accompany the specimens.

On the Masfield card is written in ink: "Engraved about 1758," which gives that manufacturer a much earlier date than the directories. On Wheeley's card is the note: "Fancy as old as Mr. Masfield's." Wheeley was established at Little Britain in 1775 (and possibly a few years earlier), but the date of 1758 assigned for Masfield strikes one as probably an error. There is another Masfield card in the collection, a small undecorated tradesman's card in letterpress type of the period, on which is pencilled the date 1788. Apart from the fact that for anyone to have preserved two cards of the same business covering a span of thirty years is not very probable, it is hardly likely that Miss Banks would herself be taking a very keen direct interest in collecting prosaic tradesmen's cards in 1758, when she was fifteen, and if the date was put on by her it must have been from hearsay. The later date, of course, is amply corroborated by the directories. Darby's card is dated 1791, but it is known, from the "London Register of Merchants and Traders" for 1775, he was in business in the Strand as a print seller at that date.

Other old-time paper-hanging manufacturers whose cards were collected by Miss Banks include :—

- 1787. William Squire. At the Three Tents and Lamb in the Poultry.
- 1788. Isherwood & Bradley, 35, Ludgate Hill.
- 1791. Field, Mill Street, Hanover Square.
Ralph, 7, Duke's Court, St. Martin's Lane.
- 1792. Davenport, St. Alban's Street, near Pall Mall.
- 1797. Cobb & Co., 25, Warwick Court, Warwick Lane.
- 1801. Dobson & Hayward, 114, Wardour Street, Oxford Street.
- 1807. Bridport, 18, Old Cavendish Street.
- 1808. Thomas Hall, 85, Cheapside.
James Marshall, "Upholder and Appraiser," of Leeds.
- 1809. Bowen & Morant, 81, New Bond Street.

The vogue of the chintz type of pattern, which is very prominent in the trade cards illustrated, has an extremely interesting explanation. Singularly enough, it is the same explanation that accounts for the blue and white papers, which not only enjoyed great popularity in this country, but gained a high reputation in France.

In order to protect their own goods, the woollen and silk manufacturers in this country succeeded in 1700 in having forbidden the introduction of Indian silks and printed calicoes for domestic use, either as apparel or furniture, under penalty of £200 on the wearer or seller—hence the trouble over Mrs. Garrick's smuggled Indian hangings (as described in page 82)—while by an Act of 1720, the use or wear of all printed, painted, stained or dyed calicoes, whether imported or home-manufactured was prohibited.*

There was no similar prohibition as regards paper-hangings, and it was natural for people who wanted to indulge a liking for the gaiety and colour of the Indian chintzes to do so by having chintz designs on their wallpapers.

But while the importation or production of multi-coloured textiles was prohibited, there was one exception in the case of home-manufactures, and that was in regard to "single colour blue," because this had been woven almost from time immemorial by linen manufacturers. The

* This Act was modified in 1736 to allow mixed fabrics with a cotton warp to be used, and it was entirely repealed in 1774, by which time the growing importance of the cotton textile industry was realised; but the embargo was kept up against imported decorated cottons.

fashion grew up of having furniture covers and paperhangings to match, and it was not unusual to have them printed from the same blocks.* Compare Horace Walpole's blue and white paper in his dining-room, and the chairs, couches, and settees covered with linen of the same pattern (page 72). Compare also Mrs. Delany's note of 1750: "I have done up a little apartment and hung it with blue and white paper and intend a bed of blue and white linen all Irish manufacture." Also Robert Stark's offer to match paper to damasks and linen (page 86).

Judging from frequent French references to the excellence of English blue papers, they enjoyed as high a reputation in France as in this country. Blue was also a fashionable colour for plain papers. If one had not suspected a special significance in the title of the "Blew Paper Warehouse," in Aldermanbury (whose advertisements are described in pages 39 and 40), one would have gathered from the fact that blue or purple papers were included in many petitions for letters patent about the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, that paper of this colour made a special appeal to the taste of the moment. These papers were rather coarse—something like grocers' "sugar" paper, but so long as they preserved their freshness they formed an agreeably coloured background to the more elegant furniture which began to come in with William and Mary, and Anne. Walpole wrote to Bentley in 1754: "The bow window room over the supper-parlour is finished; hung with plain blue paper, with a chintz bed and chairs."

The blue verditer (*vert de terre*) paper which Chippendale used for chimney-boards at Nostell Priory, and in some of the rooms at Mersham-le-Hatch was, no doubt, one of many shades of the fashionable colour,† and would set off to special advantage the richly-figured mahogany he employed in most of the furniture he supplied to this house.

VARIOUS KINDS OF PAPER

It seems likely that the demand for paper suitable for the manufacture of paper-hangings led to attempts to utilise other materials than linen rags. Text-books dealing with the manufacture of paper out of vegetable fibres of many kinds (and sometimes animal substances), and dating back to the middle of the 18th century, are still in existence.

* Curiously enough, this fashion has been revived lately.

† It will be noted that Dossie includes verditer among his list of blue colours (see page 51).

In this country Malachy Postlethwayt's "Dictionary of Commerce," a discursive work published in two large folio volumes (the first edition of which appeared in 1754, and the fourth in 1774) gave a good many particulars on the point. Most of Postlethwayt's information on this subject, however, was taken from French sources. His work, indeed, was founded on J. Savary des Bruslons' *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce* (1723), brought up to date and amplified by as much new matter for English students as the author could put together.

It is impossible to ignore the note of exultation with which Postlethwayt records the tremendous strides made in improving the production of paper in this country, especially during and since the War with France, which was ended in 1763. Reckoning the vats near London, and those in Yorkshire and Scotland, he estimates their production at 400,000 reams a year, most of which previously came from France, and at 5/- per ream this meant stopping not less than £100,000 per year from leaving the country. Most of this paper was made from rags, but he also described experiments (quoting French authorities, as stated) with such substances as cotton tree down, dog's bane down, thistles, linagostris, cat's tail willow, trumpet wood, mallows, lindens, flax, and mulberry branches. He appears to have been ignorant of the fact that as early as 1680, Nathaniel Bladen took out a patent in London for "An engine, method and mill, whereby hemp, flax, lynnion, cotton, cordage, silke, woollen, and all sorts of materials" might be made into paper and pasteboard.

There is an 8vo volume, published by Jan Christiaan Sepp, bookseller, of Amsterdam, in 1770, written by Dr. Jacob Christiaan Schäffers, recording "Experiments in making paper without rags (or the least addition of the same) with eighteen samples and a coloured plate." The papers are of varying coarseness and hue, and all unmistakably of vegetable content. From the descriptions, such materials as straw, lime-tree leaf, nut-tree leaf, thistles, reeds, moss, etc., were used for their manufacture.

Dr. Schäffers appears to have been enterprising to a degree, for there is still to be found in the Library of the Patent Office in London, a slender, large-quarto volume published at Regensburg in 1772, bearing Schäffers' name on the title-page, and containing twelve "samples of the new kinds of papers made from tree-leaves specially adapted for

staining for use as paper-hangings." These samples are all elaborately decorated by hand in many colours. The designs, of which no two are alike, are not very artistic, but they are well adapted to show the special qualities of the various papers. They are, for the most part, of a chintz character, printed on highly-glazed grounds—the glazing being produced by calendering—and consist of landscapes, foliage, flowers, scroll-work, ornaments, and stripes.

Dr. Ure in his "Dictionary of the Arts" (1867) refers to a book in the British Museum, dated 1772, in Low Dutch, showing sixty specimens of papers made from different materials, such as the roots of trees, bark of trees, bine of hops, tendrils of vines, stalks of nettle, thistle, hollyhock, sugar-cane, cabbage, beetroot, wood-shavings, sawdust, hay, straw, willow, and so on. The present writers have been unable to trace this book, but no doubt it was of the same family as the two referred to.

There is, however, in the Museum, a book written in French, by Leorier Delisle, and dedicated to the Marquis de Villette, in London, in 1786. It is printed on paper made from bark of lime-tree, and contains samples of paper made from nettles, hops, moss, reeds, dog's-grass root, hazel, prickwood, mallow, oak bark, poplar, and willow.

Postlethwayt's description of the different kinds of paper made in this country (presumably the orthodox rag papers) is interesting enough to record here. With regard to colour, he said: "They are divided into white, brown, blue, etc.; to quality into fine, second, bastard, superfine, etc.; with respect also to use into writing, printing, pressing, cap, cart-ridge, copy, post, etc.; and with regard to dimensions, into demy, crown, fool'scap, pot, royal, super-royal, imperial, elephant, atlas, etc." He added: "There is also printed, raised, and imbossed paper wherewith to hang rooms and therein there is much consumption, and in which our artists have arrived to a great perfection."

In Postlethwayt's day the English "marbled" papers held a high reputation. He speaks of the efforts of the Royal Society in stimulating the quality of production in this country, as having resulted in the standard of the native output being raised to be "equal in every respect" to the Dutch product, which had previously been imported in quantity. In this connection he mentions that "the first premium offered for this article has been claimed by and granted to the manufacturer who resides at Exeter."

These papers were probably no longer used for wall-hangings, but only for the end-pieces of books and the lining of chests and boxes. It is, nevertheless, interesting to record, as bearing on the methods already described in page 28, that he speaks of these papers being made with three colours—"indico mixed with white lead, yellow oker, and rose pink." Apparently two pots for each colour were kept, of different strengths, so as to give variety in shade, and the colours must be "ground very fine with brandy." Green was obtained by mixing blue and white with yellow to the shade required. He gives directions in the approved manner for preparing the gum tragacanth on which to float the colours, and also for sprinkling first red, then blue, yellow, green, etc., and for producing the patterns by means of "a bodkin or small skewer" and a comb.

He also mentions a method to "silver paper after the Chinese manner without silver" by using powdered talc sprinkled on a surface prepared with colourless "neat's leather glue" and white alum. (Beckmann, in his "History of Inventions" (1797), in the same way refers to a "kind of Chinese paper he once saw at Petersburg, which appeared to have a silver-coloured lustre without being covered with any metallic substance; it was as if the paper had been rubbed with a soft kind of talc powdered exceedingly fine.")

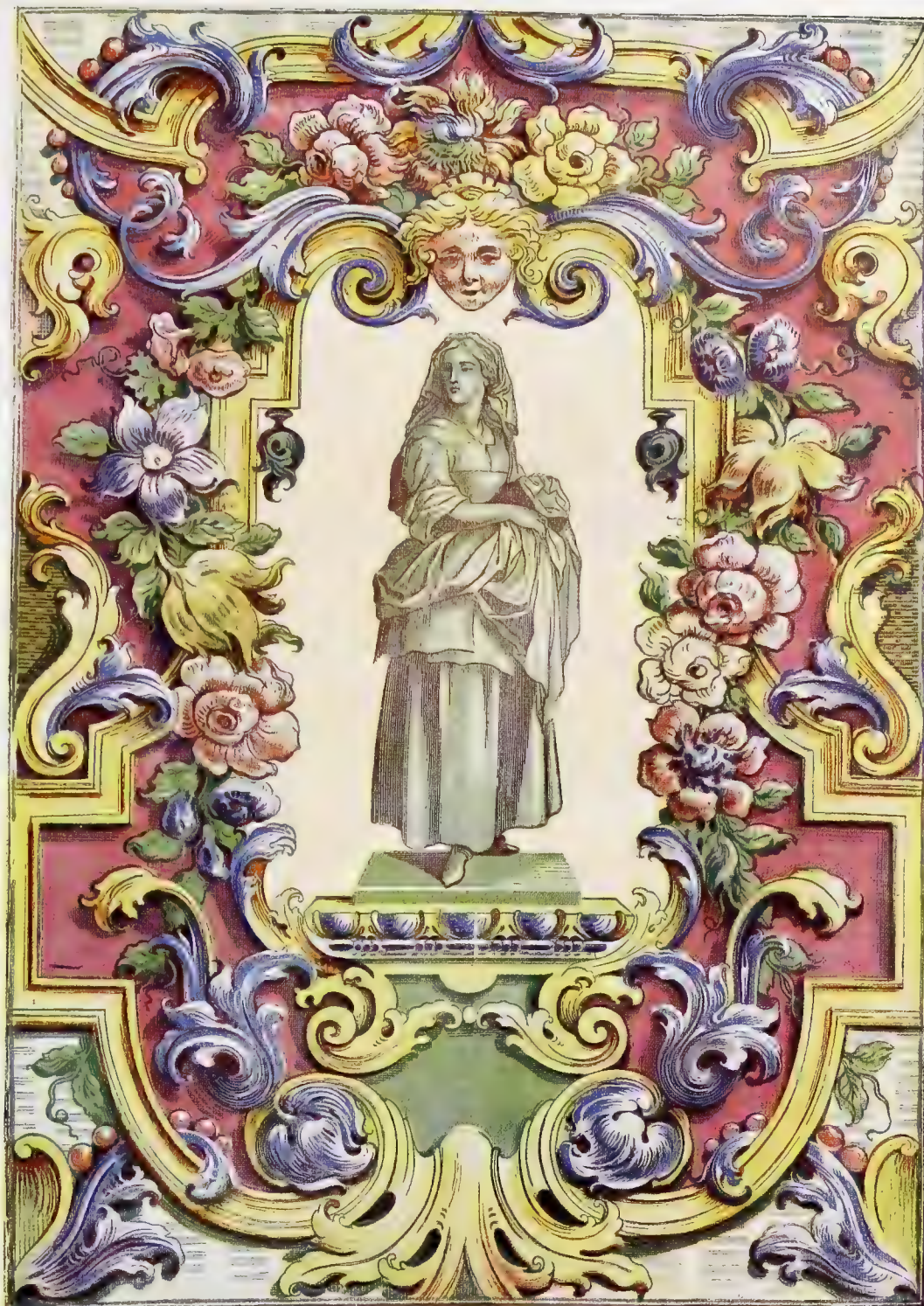
It is not clear whether the "marbled" papers for which Postlethwayt says the English enjoyed a high reputation in his day, were of the type illustrated in Plates 49 and 50—imitating the actual veinings and mottlings of the stone—and not merely exhibiting the conventional polychrome effect obtained by the dominotiers by floating and manipulating colours on a bath of gum tragacanth.

All through the 18th century the first-mentioned type of paper-hanging enjoyed great popularity—a vogue not entirely extinct, for the specimens shown in Plates 49 and 50 are modern productions. The varieties now manufactured are greatly diminished in number from the very many types which old-time paper-stainers took a pride in producing, imitating with great fidelity the markings and colour of all the best-known varieties of marble.

It is almost the only surviving paper-hanging made entirely by handicraft. The number of artisans skilled in the process could now be counted on the fingers of both hands. They become exceedingly adept at

manipulating the long brushes and crayons with which they apply the colour to the paper. What may be called the tricks of the trade, the little devices of manual dexterity which enable them to apply the pattern at a speed which keeps the process alive economically, are handed down as secrets from one to the other.

These "marblers" work in pairs, a journeyman and a boy or girl assistant to each table, some forty feet long, on which is laid a length of paper. Armed each with a pallet and a paint-brush about fifteen inches long, which they hold by the extreme tip, they proceed to lay first the ground, and then the mottlings and veilings, by a series of operations beginning at one end and finishing at the other, the man first, followed by the assistant, each with astonishing rapidity imparting to the paper as they proceed some particular effect—it may be a whorl, a vein, or a dab of colour—until the desired result is achieved. In addition to veining by means of brush or pencil, small hand-blocks are also used which, however, are not carefully "registered," but dabbed on here and there, apparently at the whim of the operator, but really in accordance with precedent. Finishes are imparted by "brushings out" and "splashings."



34. JOHN BAPTIST JACKSON'S CHIARO-OSCURO

A typical example of John Baptist Jackson's work in chiaro-oscuro, giving by means of overprinting some ten shades from four oil colours. Date, about 1750. Reduction, 1—4. (British Museum Print Room).



35. A JACKSON BORDER

Ornate border intended to be used for framing the above and other panels by Jackson. (British Museum Print Room).



36, 37. TWO MEDALLION PAPERS ATTRIBUTED TO JACKSON

Two wallpapers attributed to Jackson. The top specimen is block-printed in five colours on a blue ground. Formerly at Doddington Hall, Lincolnshire. The lower specimen is also in five colours, but on a yellow ground. Reductions, 1—5. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



38. A VENETIAN PRINT BY JACKSON

Reproduction of one of Jackson's engravings in monotone, published by Pasquale, in Venice, in 1745. Horace Walpole got great satisfaction from using prints of this series in a (paper) imitation fretwork of Gothic design. Reduction 2—7.



39. EARLY "LANDSCAPE" PAPER

Section of a wallpaper attributed to Jackson, probably on no stronger ground than that it was formerly at Doddington Hall, where other supposed Jackson papers existed. The technique differs considerably from that of any known work of Jackson's, but the combination of ruins and landscape might well have been his. Reduction, 1—5. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



39A. 18th CENTURY MEDALLION PAPER

An interesting fragment of distemper wallpaper carried out in the same colours as the frontispiece, namely, grey, sepia, black and white on a yellow ground. Until some few years ago decorating a small chamber at the Manor House, Bourton-on-the-Water, where it had been on the walls since 1769. Some of the spaces in the design were filled with coloured portraits of the owners in papier mâché frames. The paper bears the "G.R." stamp and the figure "4," and has been attributed to Bromwich, of Ludgate Hill, or Spinnage, of Cockspur Street. Reduction 2—7. Permission, Mrs. Simpson-Hayward.



39B. 18th CENTURY ENGLISH CEILING PAPER

Reproduction of four panels of an unused portion of ceiling paper preserved from the decoration of the Manor House, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, in 1769. Carried out in sepia, black and white on a grey distemper ground. Bears "G.R." Excise stamp with letter "J." Reduction 1—6. Permission, Mrs. Simpson-Hayward.



40. 18th CENTURY GOTHIC WALLPAPER

A two-colour block-printed Gothic paper, dating from the middle of the 18th century, to satisfy the Gothic vogue stimulated by Horace Walpole, Thomas Gray, and their friends. Reduction, 1—5. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



41. JOHN SEAGOOD'S TRADE CARD

This card, with its handsome rococo engraving, is preserved in the London Guildhall Library. Date, 1731. Reduction, 2—3.



42. JAMES WHEELLEY'S TRADE CARD

Another type of trade card, dating a little later (1770-75), showing a typical scene in a paper-stainer's establishment. Reduction, 2—3. (Banks Collection, British Museum).



45. BIRD, FLOWER AND FRUIT FRAGMENT

An early example of multi-colour work. Pale-blue ground, the outline of the pattern in black from a block, and the colours crudely brushed on through a stencil, the register being very poor. Formerly at the Old Bell Inn, Sawbridgeworth, Herts. Date, about 1740. Reduction, 1—4. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



46. AN EARLY ALL-FLORAL ENGLISH DESIGN

A multi-colour paper from Ackworth Hall, Yorkshire, dating from about 1760, showing considerable advance in artistic fancy and execution on the design reproduced above. The white ground has been hand-brushed with a circular-sweeping movement. The outline is in black, from a finely-engraved block, and the colours have been applied by brush, probably through a stencil. Bears the "G.R." excise stamp, with the serial letter "J." Reduction, 1—5.



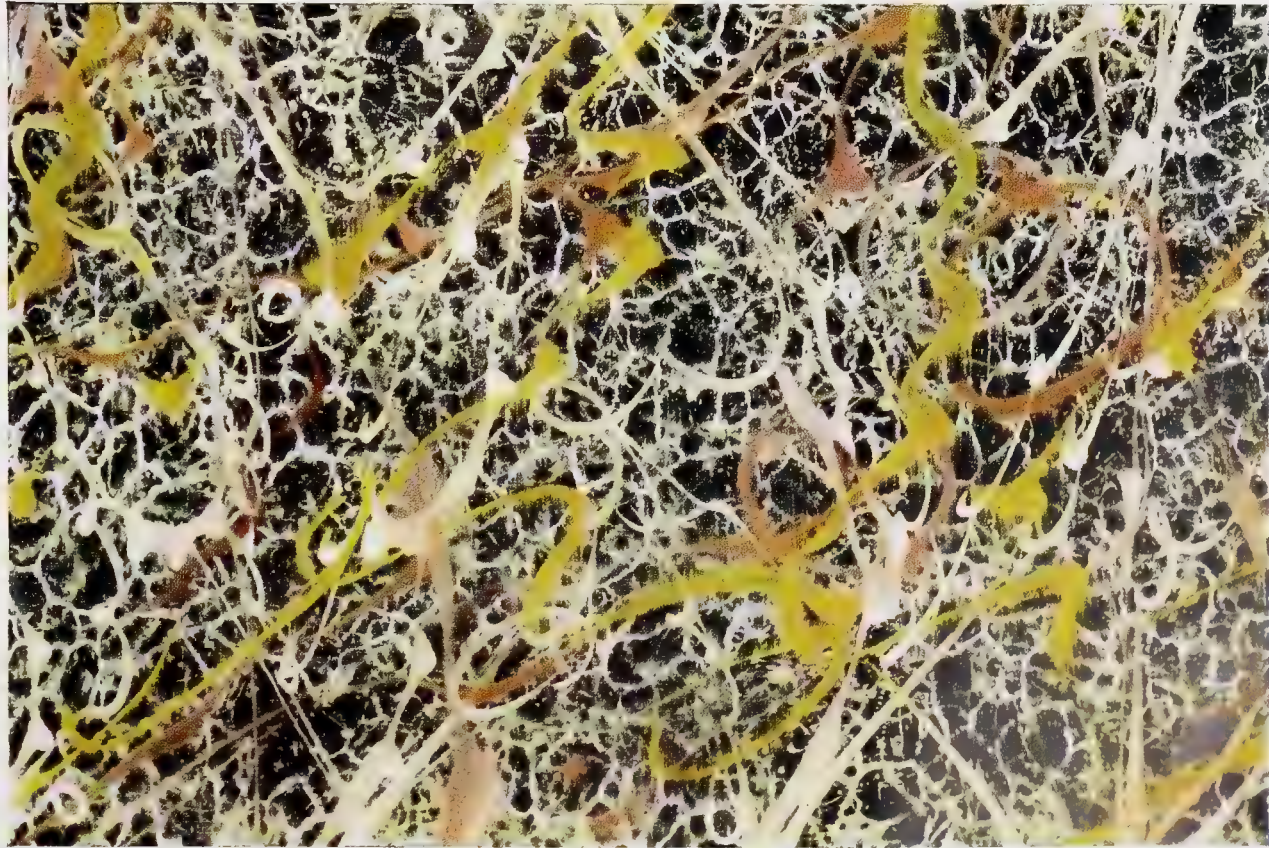
47. AN EARLY MULTI-COLOURED BLOCK PAPER

Wallpaper dating back to about 1740, executed in green and red oil colours from blocks, with crude yellow "dabs" put on by hand. Reduction, 1—4. (Public Record Office, London).



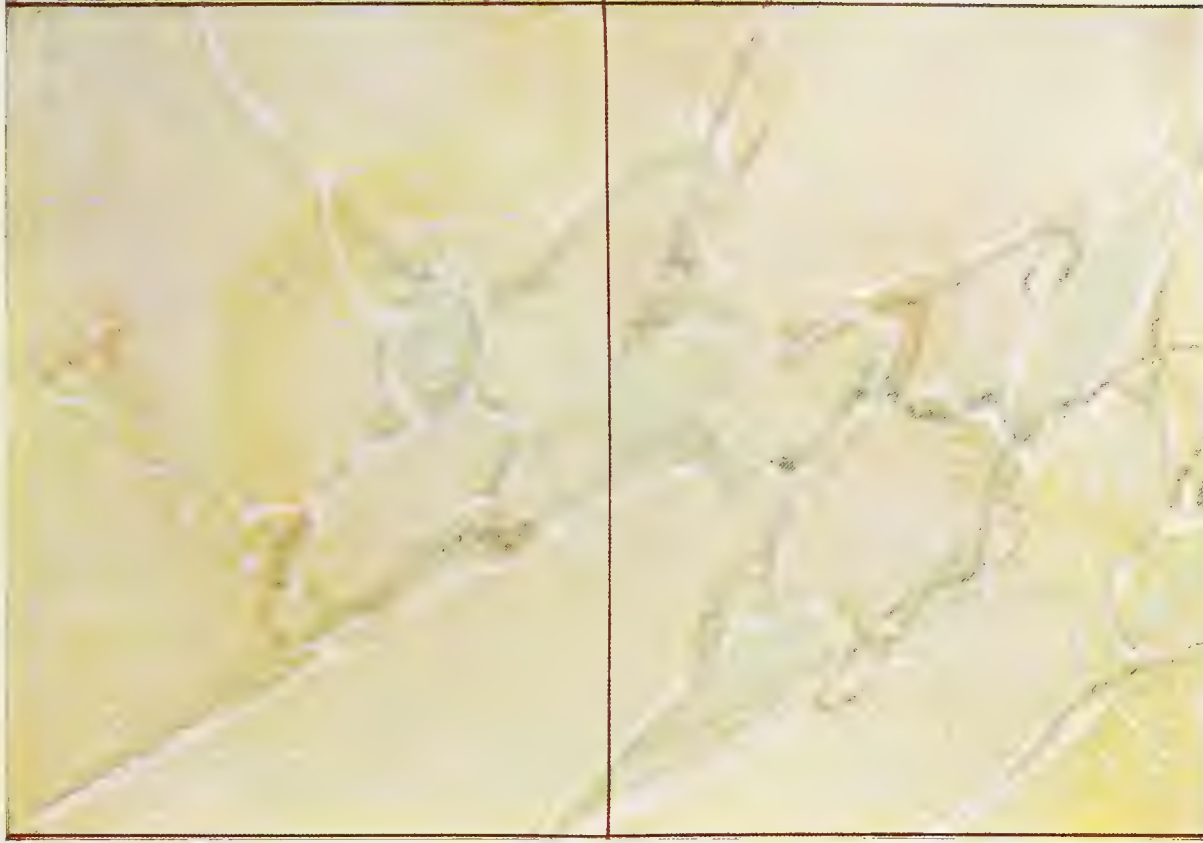
48. 18th CENTURY DISTEMPER-COLOURED WALLPAPER

A bold design carried out in distemper colours in black and white on a grey-green ground, with magenta for the flower forms. Date, about 1760. Reduction, 1—4. (Public Record Office, London).



49. IMITATION "MARBLE" PAPER

Though this illustration is of a hand-painted "marble" paper of modern manufacture, it represents a type which enjoyed great popularity, particularly in the 18th century, and is still in demand to-day. Reduction, 1-5.



50. ANOTHER TYPE OF "MARBLE" PAPER

Many varieties of "marble" paper continue to be produced by the same technique as was employed 200 and 300 years ago. The type shown above is one of the most popular, and is chiefly used in passages, bathrooms, and so on. Reduction, 1-5.

CHAPTER V

CHINESE PAPERS AND ENGLISH IMITATIONS

A NEW "NOTE" FROM THE EAST—ANTIQUITY OF CHINESE MURAL DECORATIONS ON PAPER—TYPICAL EXISTING CHINESE WALLPAPERS—ENGLISH "CHINESE."

IT is time to resume the story of painted Chinese papers and English papers imitating the Chinese style. Many of these are still in existence, the prized possession of their owners. Records of others are to be found, scattered like splashes of colour from the papers themselves, in the entertaining pages of the diarists. In grace of design and vividness of colouring they brought a new savour to the artistic palate of Europe.

In most of them were to be seen the characteristic Chinese "landscape" motive, with foliage, birds and butterflies; others depicted customs and occupations of the people. A set invariably comprised twenty-five sheets, four feet wide and twelve feet long. The pattern was not a "repeat," but the various strips when joined together to fill a panel or cover a wall presented a more or less complete design, the branches of trees spreading over from one to the other. Ingenuity was often shown in adapting the pattern to fit recesses and corners.

It has already been stated that they began to find their way to England during the 17th century. The merchants and brokers of Birchin Lane and Mincing Lane, and in short of all that part of the City of London which was fast becoming a cosmopolitan mart, found them profitable merchandise, and there can hardly have been a ship sailing from the Far East, whether belonging to the Dutch East India Company or the English East India Company, that did not bring, among its cargo, some of these decorated papers. The rarer sets were no doubt sold privately, while the cheaper sets were sold in bulk or by auction, as mentioned in page 40, and it is also clear from contemporary advertisements that they were to be bought of the tea-dealer and the toy-seller, who, no doubt, found it convenient to handle mixed assortments of Oriental merchandise.

It is by no means certain that the Chinese themselves used these painted papers as wall decorations in the same way that they came to be used in the West.

John Hilditch, F.R.G.S., a leading expert on Chinese art, has been good enough to furnish the present writers with some interesting notes which indicate that the Chinese have not only been acquainted with the art of making paper for at least 4,000 years, a much longer period than is generally understood, but that they have also used paper bearing designs for ritual purposes for the past 2,000 years. He writes :—

“ The Chinese are admitted to have been the first people to prepare material for use as we use paper to-day. The inner bark of trees was beaten to a pulp, rolled, and dried according to purpose. Ts-ai Lun (A.D. 105) is credited with inventing rice-straw paper. I have, however, found traces of this material on the back of wooden historical records found in tombs with bronze and pottery, and these grave objects had been made and interred with the dead as far back as the Hsia Dynasty (B.C. 2205).

“ Coming down to the Han Dynasty (A.D. 206), I have found, especially along the ancient Nija River, in excavations made among the ruins of tombs and houses many evidences in wood, paper, bronze, pottery, and silk, of a high order of civilisation. Among these were sections covered with paper bearing crude designs, these in turn being coated with a transparent lacquer which had the virtue of preserving it from damp and oxidation.

“ This is the first evidence of what we might call wallpaper that I discovered in China. Evidently the mud walls of the dwellings had been lined with wood, and this hand-made paper had been put on the wood as a form of decoration, with the transparent lacquer to give it a surface and glossy appearance. The mud walls were constructed with alternate layers of reeds, and it says much for this manner of building that the walls have survived for 2,000 years. Paper was also at this time made from reeds and rice-straw, and 500 years afterwards from the bamboo and the pith of *faitsia papyri-feri*.

“ Paper with designs must have been introduced very early in China in connection with funeral rites. Copies of these were put upon the walls in memory of the dead, and this custom, dating back 2,000 years, gave birth to the use of wallpaper for decorative purposes. Consequently, only certain portions of the walls and ceilings were so covered. The families who had the greatest number of deaths would naturally have the most wallpaper, and during my visits to the mountainous region of Tun-Wu-Shan, I could tell to a very large extent how many deaths had occurred by the sparcity or

otherwise of the paper on the walls of some of the older dwellings. In Kia-Jong I observed in some houses that paper had been placed upon the walls with designs of free-hand drawing and texts giving descriptions of the pictures so drawn. In one particular instance there was a genealogical tree which must have been added to by different members of the family going back 250 years.

“When in E-Chang I visited a little Taoist temple, and found the walls on two sides covered with paper with architectural figures and animals pressed on the paper by the aid of wood blocks. The sealed dates on this wallpaper ranged over a period of 340 years.

“I have no doubt whatever that the Chinese have been using wallpaper with designs for ritual and architectural purposes during the past 2,000 years. It was not, however, covered over with pictures and other objects as we cover it in this and other Western countries, but was used in the same way as we use our pictures, only with a more *réal* and definite purpose.”

These modern conclusions corroborate the observations of the famous architect, Sir William Chambers, who was one of the first to study Chinese art and Chinese life on the spot, and who, in his “*Designs of Chinese Buildings*” (1751), spoke of the native practice of hanging a large sheet of thick paper in the middle of a wall over a table containing several small ornaments, the paper being covered with “antique Chinese paintings enclosed in pannels of different figures.”

Elsewhere, in the same work, Chambers says :—

“The walls (of the large room) are matted about three or four feet upwards from the pavement; the rest being neatly covered with white, crimson, or gilt papers; and instead of pictures they hang on them long pieces of satin or paper, stretched on frames and painted in imitation of marble or bambou on which are written in azure characters moral quotations and proverbs extracted from the works of their philosophers.”

It was not long after the first specimens of Chinese painted papers had reached this country before it was realised how Chinese craftsmanship and art could be utilised to minister to the new standards of taste which were demanding appropriate surroundings for the more elegant types of furniture which began to come in with the era of home-making that really started in the time of William and Mary.

Describing the great palace at Wanstead, started by Sir Josiah Child, who had begun life as a merchant's apprentice in the East, and completed by his son, Sir Richard, equally *parvenu*, who offered £10,000 “for

making a man that's no gentleman a Lord" (and got his desire some years later), Macky, writing about 1720, spoke of "a parlour finely adorned with China Paper, figures of men and women, birds and flowers, the liveliest I ever saw come from that country."

Mrs. Delany,* one of the bright women of the period, whose friendship was esteemed by people so various as George III and his wife, Dean Swift, Horace Walpole, Fanny Burney (Madame d'Arblay), and Mrs. Montagu (the blue-stocking), refers again and again to the decorations of the various houses in which she stayed. Writing from Cornbury in a letter dated October 30th, 1756, she says: "The front room is hung with flowered paper of grotesque pattern; the colours lively and the pattern bold; the next room is hung with finest Indian paper of flowers and all sorts of birds; the ceilings are all ornamented in the Indian taste and all the finish of the room well suited; the bed chamber is also hung with Indian paper on a gold ground, and the bed is in Indian works of silks and gold in white satin." (The term "Indian" was often used to include all objects from the Far East, no doubt because they were brought in ships belonging to the Dutch East India Coy. or our English East India Coy. "Indian," "Japan," and "Chinese" were interchangeable terms. Evelyn speaks in one note of a visit to his "neighbour," Mr. Bohun, "whose whole house is a cabinet of all elegancies, especially *Indian*; in the hall are contrivances of *Japan* screens, instead of wainscot. . . . The landscapes of the screens represent the manner of life, and the country of the *Chinese*.")

In a description in *The Connoisseur*, of April 25th, 1755, of a young "blood's" apartment, the chamber is described as being "hung with Indian paper and adorned with several little images of pagodas and bramins." Mrs. Montagu (according to a French visitor† who has left the record) had at her town house a "closet lined with painted paper of Pekin and furnished with the choicest movables of China," where she and her guests breakfasted. Mrs. Lybbe Powys notes (March 23rd, 1767) at Buckingham Palace, "One room panelled with the finest Japan."

* Mrs. Delany had quite a reputation for her "taste." She was herself both skilful and industrious, and between 1774 and 1784 constructed a thousand "paper mosaics," which her friends greatly prized. Even the King and Queen were pleased to accept from her specimens of these patterns made of snippets of coloured paper. Special enthusiasm was aroused over her "feather" room, where the hangings had been made by herself from the plumage of almost every kind of bird.

† Mme. du Bocage, in her "Letters on England, Holland, and Italy" (1780).

A regular trade in Chinese painted papers, as in other objects of art, sprang up, and there can be no doubt that Chinese producers soon began to lay themselves out to supply what the Western world required as regards dimensions and general style of wallpaper, but retaining their inimitable technique and artistic fluency.

Postlethwayt in 1766 said the people of Amoy, having had the longest and greatest commerce with our traders, knew best what would please, and employed the finest workmen in preparing their wares against the arrival of the English ships. "For that reason, not only the best fans, but the best pictures, toys and lacquer ware have always been brought from that port; . . . the pictures are valued for the liveliness and briskness of the colours and variety of figures. Odd fancies commonly hit the general taste, and the Chinese do not seem to have any fancy for pieces of gravity."

The best exhibited, along with their more purely decorative qualities, a biological accuracy that was remarkable. Sir Joseph Banks, the botanist, commented in his *Journal* in 1770:—

"A man need go no further to study the Chinese than the China paper, the better sorts of which represent their persons and such of their customs, dress, etc., as I have seen, most strikingly like, though a little more in the caricatura style. Indeed, some of the plants which are common to China and Java, as bamboo, are better figured there than in the best botanical authors that I have seen."

John Baptist Jackson might rail in the Bombastes vein at "Lions leaping from bough to bough like cats, houses in the air, clouds and sky upon the ground . . . like figures in the Chinese paper"—his own productions, as we have seen, were almost as monstrous as could be conceived as works of art. Isaac Ware, while lamenting in his "*Complete Body of Architecture*" (1760) that "paper has in great measure taken the place of sculpture . . . and the hand of art is banished from a part of the house in which it used to display itself very happily," might find some saving grace in that the taste for Chinese "was now left to cook-houses and Sunday apprentices." And Goldsmith might satirise the rococo Chinoiserie of the period when, in his "*Citizen of the World*" (1762), he made his Chinese visitor describe a call on a lady of fashion who has "several rooms furnished, as she told me, in the Chinese manner: sprawling dragons, squatting pagods, and clumsy mandarines were stuck upon everything, and in turning round one must have used caution

not to have demolished part of the precarious furniture." The fact remains that all the best elements of Chinese *motifs* and colourings were so essentially things of beauty that not only have papers containing them been preserved to this day; their influence can be traced in many of the most artistic phases of modern wallpaper production.

As might be expected, the earlier papers were less vivid in hue than the later ones, those of the 18th century showing particularly brilliant grounds, and the utmost pains were expended in giving an exquisite plumage to the birds.

The designs were painted on Chinese hand-made paper which was generally pasted on stout cartridge paper affixed to coarse linen or canvas for convenience of hanging. The paint used was very similar to tempera, the medium being probably the juice of a plant and not egg-yolk. It is worth noting that the body colour and transparent glazes have preserved their freshness in a remarkable degree, and only show a chalky effect where the papers have been allowed to "perish" through sheer neglect.

TYPICAL EXISTING CHINESE WALLPAPERS

Four typical fragments of Chinese paper, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, showing decorative treatment of natural objects, are reproduced in Plates 51, 52, 53 and 54. They are copies of nature studies, possibly of the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368—1644). The two larger examples in particular not only fully justify Banks' eulogies of the biological accuracy of the details, but in their handling of flower and leaf forms as well as of birds and insects display remarkable mastery of draftsman-ship and composition.

Plate 55, showing part of a set also at the Victoria and Albert Museum is apparently a copy of an old painting of the C'hing Dynasty representing an open-air theatrical performance. It is characteristic of the type depicting the pleasures of the people. In the left foreground is a group of men playing the ancient game of Mah-Jong, and to the right is a fruit-stall. The verandah, "for ladies only," is a specially interesting feature.

By courtesy of the directors of Coutts' Bank a unique set also depicting scenes from Chinese life is illustrated in Plates 56 and 57. This set was presented to Thomas Coutts by his friend Lord Macartney,

the first British Ambassador to Peking, probably about 1792, when he returned to this country, after his unsuccessful attempt to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Chinese Court. No doubt he brought back the paper as a souvenir, and for many years it covered the walls of Thomas Coutts' drawing-room in the old Bank on the south side of the Strand.

When the Bank moved to its present fine premises on the site of the old Lowther Arcade, opposite Charing Cross Station, in 1904, the problem of transferring this treasure was at first thought to be insuperable, but by exercise of the greatest patience and care it was found possible, after stripping the plaster along with the paper, to pulverise the former and leave the latter sound enough to be re-hung in the new drawing-room. The walls of the room are 30 feet long by 20 feet broad, and 12 feet high, and the paper surmounts a panelled dado of about 3 feet in height.

As will be seen from the two sections reproduced, this paper gives an eloquent panorama of life in a Chinese village, the occupations of the people being depicted with a liveliness and vitality which give it an ethnological as well as an artistic value. Some three hundred figures are introduced into the scenery, no two of them in the same attitude. One can trace on it the whole processes of rice cultivation and tea cultivation, from the sowing to the gathering, while many other country activities, such as horse slaughtering, fishing, pic-nicing, and so on lend variety to the record.

The two sections illustrated show the sowing of rice in the paddy fields, the garnering, winnowing, sorting, and storing of the grain, together with a glimpse of the official side of the operations, as depicted by a visit from the tax inspector. The reproductions give an admirable idea of beautiful mellow tone and the fine state of preservation in which this Coutts' Bank paper still remains, notwithstanding its disturbance from its original site.

Another characteristic Chinese paper which has not previously been illustrated in colour—this time of the bird, tree, and landscape category—is shown in Plates 58 and 59. This paper is in the mansion at Templenewsam, now the property of the Leeds Corporation, but originally the home of the Darcys, and from the beginning of the 17th century until recently in the possession of the Ingrams. It was hung in the

State apartments downstairs, in 1806, by the commission of George IV, who was a connoisseur in Chinese art, and had already, when Prince Regent, had some of the rooms of his Pavilion at Brighton made into a Chinese Gallery and decorated with pagodas, dragons, and lanterns to show off a present of Chinese paper. Presumably, the paper at Templenewsam was put up in connection with one of his visits there, as it is known he occupied this room.

It is of original Chinese manufacture, all hand-painted on sheets pasted together, and each wall forms a scenic panel of growing shrubs, flowers and birds. It is interesting to note that, as originally installed, the paper is said to have contained fewer birds and other objects than is now the case. The author of the amended version is supposed to have been Queen Victoria, who, whilst on a visit to Templenewsam, suggested that the decorations would be improved by some further detail. The added birds and flowers, as to which one tradition says they were painted by the "Five Sisters," daughters of the house, and another that they were obtained from China, may easily be detected, as they have been superimposed on the original paper. The character and style of the original have been beautifully maintained, and the result, if the accepted story is true, is a tribute to the taste and true "wallpaper feeling" of Queen Victoria. It is but fair to mention that the practice of cutting out and adding bits from spare fragments which would otherwise be wasted was quite a customary one with Chinese decorations.*

There are other wallpapers at Templenewsam which, though not genuine Chinese, are sufficiently interesting to deserve description here. In one of the bedrooms upstairs is a remarkable stork pattern (Plate 65), which the best authorities believe to be an exact reproduction of an old paper previously hung on the walls. The reproduction was introduced in 1906 in connection with a visit from King Edward VII.

Unlike the original, which was made in sheets, this second edition is on paper made in continuous lengths. The design is hand-painted and has a repeat of 40 inches in height, and 33 inches in side repeat. This unusual width is obtained by means of two strips of different widths, one containing the stork panel and the other the two Empire-style stripes with the small scenic subject between. The stork portion is 14 inches in side repeat, and the stripes 18½ inches.

* Lady Mary Coke, in a note in her diary in 1772, says: "I called on the Duchess of Norfolk, who I found sorting butterflies cut out of Indian paper for a room she is going to furnish."

An extremely interesting feature of this reproduction is that a fine engraved plate has been used, to emphasise in black the outline and finer features of the stork panel, the feathers of the birds being reproduced in most effective fashion. The process is known to have been used by the Eckhardts, of Chelsea, who flourished at the end of the 18th century.

In the picture gallery is a red "flock" paper of damask character (see Plate 30), which is remarkable for the beauty and originality of its design, as well as for its boldness in size and repeat. This appears to be of undoubted English origin, and is identical with a paper still preserved at Hickleton Hall, Doncaster, not many miles away. There is ascribed to it the date 1720. Another interesting "flock" paper, with a bold damask design in red, found unused in a store-room at the house, is reproduced in Plate 31. It is probably of about the same date. (For the information of connoisseurs it may be mentioned that in the "Grey" room is a French chintz paper that is worth examining, and other parts of the house are decorated with handsome block damask papers, some printed in "flock.")

Brilliant examples of Chinese wallpapers are to be found in many of the historic mansions of Great Britain, as is shown in the records of the old-established firms of decorators who have specialised in this branch of the craft.

At Coker Court in Somerset, at Ramsbury in Wiltshire, and at Brasted in Kent, are papers representing trades and occupations of the Chinese which are comparable in character with the Coutts' Bank paper and that reproduced from the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Brasted paper is said to have been hung in the time of Dr. Turton, George III's physician, and it was probably one of those brought to this country by Lord Macartney.

At Badminton a beautiful effect is obtained by slender bamboo stalks towering gracefully above a mass of jonquils and camelias, while pheasants and other birds of brilliant hue flit among the branches.

Yet another striking colour effect is to be seen at Ightham Mote in Kent, where the Ho bird and silver pheasants, bright blue irises, and pomegranates, form the details of a notable design.

At Nostell Priory in Yorkshire the State bedrooms show a pale green ground, decorated with rose-coloured and white pæonies, irises, chrysanthemums, and many gorgeous birds.

Other 18th century Chinese wallpapers are at Belvoir Castle, the Duke of Rutland's seat; at Carton, the Duke of Leinster's Kildare home; at Headfort Castle; at Bowood House, Wilts.; at Syon House, Middlesex; at Lockleys, Herts.; at Normanton Park, Herts.; at Moor Park, Herts.; at Bocket Hall, Herts.; at Houghton, Norfolk; at Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire; and at Abbotsford (where Sir Walter Scott received a gift from a friend who had travelled in the Far East of what the novelist referred to as "a most splendid Chinese paper, 12 feet high by 4 feet wide, enough to finish the drawing-room and two bedrooms, the colour being green, with rich Chinese figures.")

In the basement at the London Museum are three wall-length panels entirely hand-painted, which came from Clarence House. There are four similar panels, also from Clarence House, in the Geffrye Museum, London; they are labelled "Hand-painted Chinese wallpapers, about 1750."

Besides the Chinese papers there are many hand-painted papers known to be of Japanese origin, and the supply of these was kept up till towards the end of the last century. In the opinion of A. Barnard Cowtan, one of the leading authorities on Oriental decorations, the detail of these was often finer and more delicate than that of the Chinese.

ENGLISH "CHINESE" PAPER-HANGINGS

Genuine Chinese papers could not be procured fast enough, and English paper-stainers, early in the 18th century, began to produce papers in the Chinese feeling, which, however, were easily distinguishable by the fact that, instead of the pattern covering the full wall space, it was usually "repeated" in squares or strips, and frequently, along with a distinctly Chinese character of design, contained figures in European garb of the period (see Plate 60), or, it might be, vases or other accessories such as Chinese art never knew.

Moreover, in the English productions the outline was usually printed from an engraved or etched plate, and the colour of the objects, often rivalling that of the real Chinese, applied by hand. The genuine importations, so far as can be ascertained, were hand-painted throughout, unaided by a stencilled or even a "pounced" outline such as is usual in Indian chintzes. The outline was drawn with a fine camel-hair brush, which imparted a "life" that could not be attained by the etched line, however delicate. In any case, as the Chinese designs did not "repeat," it would not have been worth while cutting blocks.

One is inclined, therefore, to surmise that Dossie was confusing the home product with the real Chinese, when in his "Handmaid to the Arts" (1758), he said:—

"The Chinese, who intermix printing and painting much more than we do, seem to make a very advantageous use of the engraving on wood, in the execution of which they doubtless exceed what we have any conception of here, and produce very fine outline sketches, which greatly assist in the painting, even in very large pieces, by means of wooden prints. It were to be wished, therefore, that the engraving on wood was more encouraged and cultivated here, especially as paperhangings, to the manufacture of which it is greatly subservient, is becoming now a very considerable article of trade, and at present possessed by ourselves alone."

Of this type, no doubt, were the papers advertised in the *Evening Post*, of January 8th, 1754:—

"The new invented paper-hangings for the ornamenting of Rooms, Screens, &c., are to be had by the Patentee's direction of Thomas Vincent, Stationer, next door to the Wax-Work in Fleet Street. NOTE.—These new invented paperhangings in Beauty, Neatness, and Cheapness infinitely surpass anything of the like nature hitherto made use of, being not distinguishable from the rich India paper and the same beautifully coloured in pencil work and gilt."

A very fine collection of seventeen English "Chinese" papers (see examples in Plates 61 and 62), in addition to the real Chinese in the basement already mentioned, is to be seen at the London Museum. It is a pity no trace of their producers' names has survived, for several of them reveal high technical proficiency. They would appear to date from about the middle of the 18th century, for they are very similar in feeling and execution to one in the possession of Green & Abbott, bearing the words ingeniously worked into the design in script characters: "According to Act of Parliament, December 1st, '1769.'" Some of them consist of two sheets pasted together, but they are mostly in single sheets. No doubt they were used for screens or for over-mantels, as described in the advertisements of the Blue Paper Warehouse (page 39), or the Chippendale invoice at Nostell Priory (page 81), for "overdoors" and other panels, as was a custom of the time.

As to design, they are nearly all in character, with small figures, birds, plants and flowers. The outline has evidently been printed in black from an engraved or etched plate, and the colours painted in by hand. Early in 1925, an interesting addition was made to the series of English

rooms in the Department of Woodwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum, by the reconstruction of a complete room from an old house at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire. The walls are papered with the original paper (Plate 63), which is of Chinese character, but of English manufacture. It is remarkable for the fact that, unlike most English "Chinese," the pattern does not "repeat," but covers the entire wall space. That it is English is incontestable, because it bears on the back the "G.R." Excise tax stamp.

It is a very close imitation of the real Chinese style, growing up from the base to the top with typical tree foliage and bird subjects. Originally the colour must have contained a good deal of brilliance in the birds and flowers, but it is considerably discoloured by damp. The workmanship is not so fine as the real Chinese, but it is a creditable imitation. In places a black outline is shown, probably done by means of a pen or a fine camel-hair brush, but the rest is undoubtedly brush-work.

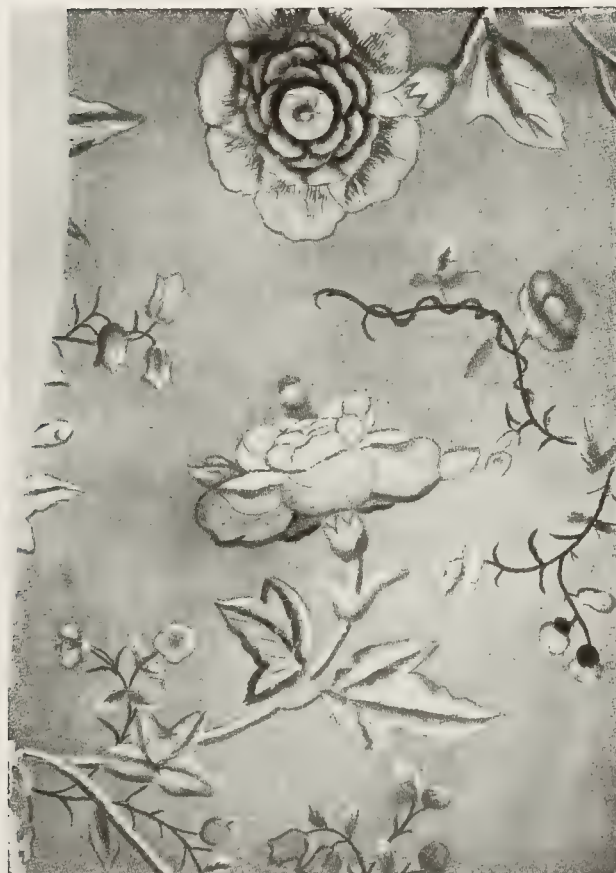
The actual height of the design is five or six feet as against ten or twelve usually taken up by the imported papers. The paper is hung over a dado of pine-wood painted olive-green, and shows lotuses, irises, and other water-plants bedecking the surface of a lake. Pheasants, cranes, and other birds are to be seen flying in the air or sitting on the branches of trees fringing the indented shore, while ducks are diving and swimming in the water below.

The form of tax-stamp is one of the earliest used in the Georgian dynasty and in all probability the paper dates back to about 1740.

Another very interesting English "Chinese" paper is illustrated in Plate 64. It was printed by Duppa and Slodden about 1800, and though part of the design is missing, it will be seen that it too was unlike the usual run of English Chinese. Not only does it carry out the Chinese convention very faithfully, but it is made in wall-lengths to go from base to ceiling; it "repeats," however, every two breadths. It is entirely block-printed in four colours with a change of block probably repeating six or eight times, employing about thirty-two blocks in all.



51. FRAGMENT OF 17th CENTURY CHINESE PAPER
Hand-painted detail, evidently the base of a non-repeating wall-length, copied from a nature study, of the Ming dynasty. Reduction, 1—5. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



52. FRAGMENT OF 17th CENTURY CHINESE PAPER
Floral detail from another early specimen, on a brilliant blue ground. Reduction, 1—4. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



53. LARGE SCALE REPRODUCTION OF CHINESE DETAIL

The exquisite draughtsmanship of Chinese art of the Ming dynasty is admirably shown in this detail. Reduction, 1—3. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



54. TYPICAL BIRD AND INSECT DETAIL

The "life" and biological accuracy of the best Chinese wallpapers is illustrated in this specimen. Reduction, 1—3. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



55. CHINESE WALLPAPER DEPICTING AN OPEN-AIR THEATRE

Section of an 18th century Chinese wallpaper, typical of the class illustrating the life of the people. It is after the style of the C'hing dynasty, and represents a theatrical performance in the open-air. In the foreground to the left is a group of men engaged in the ancient game of mah-jong. To the right a fruit stall. In the centre family groups are seen admiring the players, and to the extreme right a "Ladies Only" enclosure. Reduction, 1—14. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



56. HISTORICAL PAPER AT COUTTS' BANK

A unique reproduction (by permission of the directors of Coutts' Bank) of a Chinese paper-hanging, presented by Lord Macartney to Thomas Coutts in 1792, and still adorning the board-room of Coutts' Bank, in the Strand, near Charing Cross. The section depicts rice or paddy fields. At the top the seed is being sowed in a welter of wet. By the ladder is a garnering stack, and in the lower section to the right, labourers are winnowing paddy fashion. In the foreground the tax inspector on horseback is seen arriving at the tax-office. Reduction, 1-10.



57. ANOTHER SECTION OF THE COUTTS' BANK PAPER

Inspectors testing, sorting, and storing the rice, with a picnic group and travellers in the foreground, and a pilgrim priest giving directions. The entire paper covers walls measuring 30 feet by 20 feet, and is 9 feet high from dado to cornice. The mellow tone of the original is admirably reproduced in this and the preceding Plate. Reduction, 1—10.



58. EXQUISITE CHINESE PAPER OF FLORAL TYPE

Reproduction of a corner of a room at Templenewsam, near Leeds, the ancient home of the Darcys, now the property of Leeds Corporation, showing a beautiful specimen of Chinese wallpaper of the "bird, insect and tree" type, in exquisitely delicate tones. The paper was hung about 1806. Reduction, 1—30. (Permission, Leeds Corporation Art Committee).



60. AN ENGLISH "CHINESE" PANEL

Facsimile of a panel of English manufacture in the Chinese vein. The outline is printed from an engraved block—the genuine Chinese were hand-painted throughout—and the colours painted by hand. Date, about 1770. Reduction, 1—4. (Victoria and Albert Museum).



61. ENGLISH DECORATIVE PANEL IN CHINESE STYLE

A non-repeating design of English production produced from an etched or engraved plate, and coloured by hand, on two sheets joined. Date, about 1770. Reduction, 1—11. (London Museum).



62. ANOTHER ENGLISH IMITATION OF CHINESE
WALLPAPER

Portion of an English design closely imitating detail of typical Chinese landscape wallpapers. Date, about 1770. Reduction, 1—6. (London Museum).



63. ENGLISH "NON-REPEATING" IMITATION OF CHINESE PAPER

Reproduction of a wallpaper from Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, removed in 1925 to the Victoria and Albert Museum, and re-hung in Gallery 56 of the Woodwork Department. The presence of the "G.R." excise stamp on the back of the sheets testifies to its being of English manufacture, but it differs from most imitations of Chinese papers in being entirely hand-painted, but still more in the circumstance that each length forms part of a continuous design, and does not "repeat." Reduction, 1—36. Date, about 1740.



64. A NOVEL ENGLISH "CHINESE" WALLPAPER

A paper-hanging, by Duppa (date, about 1800), in imitation of Chinese taste, specially interesting for the clever way in which the design "repeats" in every two lengths. Part of one strip, it will be noticed, is missing, but the available portion of the pattern has been duplicated in the reproduction so as to show the gracefulness of the composition, which is carried out in three colours. Reduction, 1-14.

CHAPTER VI

LATE GEORGIAN ACHIEVEMENTS

THE ECKHARDT AND SHERRINGHAM "GOLDEN AGE"—EFFORTS AT MECHANICAL IMPROVEMENTS—SHELLEY AND THE TRELLISED GRAPES—LEIGH HUNT'S TRELLISED PRISON-CELL—TEMPORARY DECLINE IN ENGLISH STANDARDS.

THERE has been a disposition in some quarters to do less than justice to English achievements in wallpaper production in the last quarter of the 18th century, or what may be termed the late Georgian period. The truth is that for many years about this period English manufacture undoubtedly led the way.

Soon after the end of the century this supremacy was to pass for a while to France—though, as we shall see, there were a few brilliant exceptions to the uninspired level to which native production was to fall—but those who would begrudge credit to English producers at this time surely ignore many evidences of development, both artistically and technically.

It would have been impossible for the brothers Adam to exert the influence they did on interior decoration of the English home, if a low standard of taste had been prevalent. In the opinion of his contemporary rivals Robert Adam may have run to a somewhat emasculated type of ornament, but there was no gainsaying the lightness, the simplicity, and the refinement of his ideas, or the fact that at their best the Adams revived a touch of Hellenic grace that has never since been wholly lost.

Not only was the Adam influence real and abiding; the current taste was also expressed in the furniture of designers such as Chippendale, Hepplewhite, and Sheraton, all of whom required appropriate surroundings for their productions. Is it conceivable that wallpaper alone of the applied arts lagged behind during this period?

The achievements in particular of two English paper-stainers illumine the last few years of the century in refutation of any such idea. Among the host whose names begin to appear in contemporary advertisements and directories none stand as high as those of the Eckhardts (Francis Frederick and George) and of John Sherringham.

It is evidence of the extreme difficulty of re-constructing in true perspective a picture of the past where so perishable a material as wallpaper is concerned, that there survive no authentic specimens of the work of these producers, and yet it cannot be doubted from the eulogies of experts who were acquainted with their work that they were indeed paper-stainers whose standard of taste and achievement was beyond question.*

To the Eckhardts, whose factory was at Sloane Street, Chelsea, patents were granted between 1780 and the end of the century for a method of printing designs in imitation of needle-work, for printing from engraved plates filled in with colour and rubbed off like ordinary copper-plate printing, for printing in oil colours, and for preparing and printing in silver leaf to resemble silk and lace stuffs for use as hangings for rooms. The brothers are famous for having produced very beautiful designs on silk and linen, as well as on paper and other materials, partly printed and then finished by hand. The workmanship is described as exquisite. So successful were they that they removed to larger premises—at Whitelands, King's Road, Chelsea, and here they continued to produce costly and sumptuous hangings, and evidently found it necessary to set up showrooms in the fashionable shopping quarter.

There is preserved in the Print Room at the British Museum a leaflet issued by the firm dated May, 1793, describing their works as "Royal Patent Manufactory of Painted Silk, Varnished Linen, Cloth and Paper, for Hangings and other articles of Furniture—under the Patronage of Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal," and announcing:—

"That the Public in general may form some Judgment for themselves of many Modes of disposing of the different Articles mentioned, Messrs. Eckhardts & Co. have opened A SET OF ROOMS at No. 8, Old Bond Street, fitted up in a variety of Forms, where the Effect may at once be seen; and which, from the Novelty of their Manufactory, they think necessary."

Among the specialities they advertised were "papers on a new principle in a diversity of beautiful patterns and of all prices." Their "patent

* J. Gregory Crace, in the jury's report on the Furniture and Paper-Hangings Section at the great London Exhibition of 1851, speaks of the Eckhardt productions as excelling those of that day. Some of the blocks used by the Eckhardts, he mentioned, were then in his possession. "They have great merit in the design and some of them eight feet in length. These manufacturers carried the art to its highest point in England. Mr. Sherringham, of London, also excelled at that time in decorative paper-hangings." The size of the Eckhardts' blocks indicates the standard they aimed at. Even blocks of 5 ft. need to be kept under pressure in order to prevent them from warping. Though there is no positive evidence on the point, it has been suggested that the beautiful striped paper, with the bird and foliage motive, at *Templenewsam* (Plate 65) and the hand-painted chintz design (Plate 66), were the work of one or other of these two famous houses, as they are both typical of the technique associated with them.

silver damask varnished linen and paper ” they particularly recommended to the public with the assurance that in addition to their acknowledged elegance, which had been achieved “ by great labour, perseverance, and expense,” they would stand without the least diminution of their lustre, as shown by a test of over two years.

“ Eating rooms already stuccoed might, at a small expense, receive additional embellishment,” and rooms with bare walls could be given the beauty, elegance, and convenience of a well-stuccoed apartment, and perfectly free from the echo so universally complained of in stuccoed rooms at a much less expense and without having to wait for the drying of the stucco. (It is quite likely the stucco effects were similar to those shown in Plates 71, 72, and 73, only on a larger scale).

Another merit the firm claimed for their products was that “ agreeable to the present taste in decorations being adjusted chiefly in pannels, the most costly of their articles if at any time soiled, either by accident, smoke of London, or other situation, can be taken down, cleaned and replaced with the brilliancy of the first day at very trifling expense—or in the absence of the family may be laid by or removed and adapted to other apartments or houses at convenience, as also by painting the stiles a different colour or changing the pannels will appear as a total new Room.”

An interesting intimation in the leaflet is that “ Every article painted or printed by them will be stamped with the mark of the manufactory,” and quite a human touch is that because they use the most costly materials and give the highest pay to their artists in every department, they announce that they deal for ready money only—“ that is to say, within two months of completing their several undertakings.” A further sidelight on the habits of the day is furnished by the final announcement that in order to consult as much as possible the convenience of the nobility and gentry the firm “ deem it necessary, for the present, to continue the mode of issuing admission tickets.”

One of the Eckhardts’ patents was for preparing linen or cotton cloth with stiffening by means of starch, afterwards printing and ornamenting it with gold and silver, and finally varnishing it so that it could be washed “ with a common sponge and water ” without being removed. This was one of their products used not only for hangings, but also “ for other furniture of rooms.” John Gregory Crace, in his paper

before the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1839, speaks of the very beautiful colour effects which they obtained by means of an under-ground of silver and gold.*

For the most part only a portion of the design in the Eckhardt productions was obtained by printing, the rest being put in by artists of some talent, who were retained for the finishing of designs by hand, while about 50 young girls were also employed filling in the less important parts, also by hand. Among the well-known artists whom they employed were Jounot, Fouglet, Boileau, and Jones.

It is not without significance that the Eckhardts are said to have started originally in the old works of the Chelsea china factory. At all events, they started about the time the china works had to close down for lack of orders. One of the grounds in a public memorial asking the Government to step in and save the china works from extinction was that it had been "a nursery for thirty lads taken from parishes and charity schools and bred to design and painting." It is therefore easy to see why, with such a ready-made supply of skilled labour on the spot trained to artistic craftsmanship, the Eckhardts were able to adventure in the direction of a high artistic standard. Even so, in course of time, the firm outlived its popularity. In 1794, Thomas Sheraton in his "Cabinet Makers and Upholsterers' Drawing Book" made most eulogistic reference to the productions of the Eckhardts, who figured among his list of subscribers as "Eckhardt, proprietor of the printed silk manufactory, Chelsea, London"; yet within a very few months from that time it became necessary to close down the works, which were acquired in 1796 by Nathaniel Hinchliff, and later passed into the occupation of Scott, Cuthbertson & Co.

Of the Eckhardts, Mawer Cowtan, in a paper read before the Decorative Art Society, in 1844, said: "Their well-directed taste, their eager desire to advance as much as possible their undertaking, their steady endeavour to adopt only the most beautiful patterns, and their determination to get them up in the best manner, are lessons for some of our modern paper-stainers."

* There seems ground for believing the Eckhardts originally came from Holland, where they had already won repute with their handsome hangings. It has been conjectured that they are referred to in a book published at Leipsic, in 1768, in which the author, Von Heineken, describing his travels through the Netherlands, says: "Before I leave the Hague I must not omit to mention Mr. Eccard's particular invention for making paper-hangings. He prints some which appear as if worked through with gold and silver. They are fabricated with much taste and are not dear."

Sherringham's factory was near Great Marlborough Street, and the first record of it is in 1786. Sherringham had spent a considerable time on the Continent, and his enterprise and refined taste led him to engage the services of a number of artists of ability, among whom were La Brière, Fusili, Louis, Boileau, and Rosetti.

Mawer Cowtan, in 1844, said he was thus enabled to "infuse into art a style which for beauty and grace was not equalled before nor has since been surpassed. Sherringham's productions were, indeed, characteristic of the true principles of art. From this establishment emanated the leading decorators of the present day, and the first houses in London built their form upon the fashion he had construed. Sherringham was indeed the Wedgwood of paper-stainers." This title of "Wedgwood of paper-stainers" has stuck to Sherringham without challenge, and as it was applied at a time when the memory of his achievements would still be a matter of personal experience, and by one who himself played no mean part in the development of wallpaper, it may be regarded as one of those happy phrases which tell so much in so little space.

Sherringham is credited with having been the first to introduce, with any degree of excellence, what were known as Arabesque papers. He apparently went out of business in 1802, but, as Cowtan states, most of the leading decorators of the period immediately following had passed through his hands, and one of his apprentices, William Woollams, founded one of the leading houses of the 19th century and played a prominent part in the revival of the craft in this country, following the "dead" period that set in after Sherringham.

It is perhaps only a speculation, supported by nothing more than the uncommon nature of the name, but it has been suggested that the Fusili (or Fuseli) employed by Sherringham was none other than Johan Heinrich Fuessli, a poor but versatile young Swiss from Zurich, who came to this country to seek a wider field for his talents, bringing with him letters of introduction to Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Coutts, Joseph Johnson, the publisher, and other prominent people. After several years of effort to make his way both as writer and painter—during which, no doubt, he would turn his hand to anything that would bring grist to the mill—he succeeded so well that in 1799 he was appointed to follow James Barry as Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy, and in 1804 he succeeded Richard Wilson, R.A., as Keeper.

He had long since changed his name to Henry Fuseli, and judging from contemporary records Fuseli's dinner parties in his days of prosperity became as famous as any others where they have "talked Art with a big A."

EFFORTS AT MECHANICAL "IMPROVEMENTS"

Besides the striving after rich effects on which the Eckhardts and Sherringham concentrated, at least two notable attempts were made during the second half of the 18th century to increase wallpaper production by mechanical means.

The wealth of the community was being added to by man's amazing triumphs over material forces. The stimulus given to the expansion of industry by the development of transport, due as much to the genius of Brindley, the canal maker, as to those who set about covering the country with a net-work of fine highways, came at the right moment. James Watt had just discovered how to harness the power of steam to men's needs, and there followed in less than a decade—from 1768 to 1776—that outburst of mechanical development which saw Hargreaves invent the spinning jenny, Arkwright improve it with his "drawing-out" device, and Crompton combine the two principles in the "mule," thus laying the foundations of the British cotton textile trade, the most remarkable industrial achievement the world has seen.

The demands for wallpaper must have been difficult to meet, even with paper-stainers springing up in every considerable town in the country, each with his own set of blocks, some of which are still to be found stored away in old-fashioned workshops—relics of the days when the paperhanging manufacturer designed and produced his own blocks, printed his papers, sold them direct to the public, and (usually) hung them in the houses of his clients.

As yet, however, the continuous roll of paper necessary for the great expansion of the industry was not a practicable attainment, nor was the calico-printing machine, which was the forerunner of the first successful wallpaper printing machine, in being until 1783. But men's minds were searching after mechanical "improvements," and on April 10th, 1764, a patent having considerable bearing on the development of wallpaper was granted to Thomas Fryer, Thomas Greenough, and John Newbery, who were described respectively as a linen draper, of Bishopsgate

Street, an apothecary, of Ludgate Street, and a bookseller, of St. Paul's Churchyard, for "A machine of a new construction, and in mixing and adapting colours to the use of the said machine for printing, staining, and colouring of silks, stuffs, linens, cottons, leather, and paper."

The colours were applied to engraved cylinders "by small cylinders which are put in motion by other plain cylinders." The whole work of "filling in, cleaning off, and stamping the impressions" was performed by "the assistance of sundry springs and the inter-mediums of coggs and rings turned by a wheel." The colours and stains were "extracted from the different dyeing drugs and fixed by the help of oyl and vitriol, aqua regia, spirits of salt, alum, cream of tartar, sal amoniack, volatile and fixed alkalies, and quick lime," the proportions varying as the shade of the colour is required to be lighter or darker.

On March 18th, 1786, an even more elaborate mechanism formed the subject of a patent granted to Jacob Bunnett, of the parish of Saint Mary, Whitechapel, Middlesex, stationer, for "a machine for the printing of paper-hangings, calicoes, cottons, and linens in general, whereby any number of colours may be printed thereon at one and the same time; and whereby ten times as many pieces may be printed in as short a space of time as one piece is now printed by the common method."

This invention is explained by three figures in the sheet of drawings and notes appended thereto. The first figure represents (1) "three printing cylinders removable by means of a screw at the back having a hollow center to receive the center of the iron axis which goes through the whole cylinder; (2) three cylinders (above former) which are charged with colour from three wire or canvas-bottomed troughs above them; (3) three screws at each end "to raise or depress the colour cylinders"; (4) three cylinders covered with soft material and serving as "beds for the cylinders to print upon"; (5) six rollers round which the paper passes "to give it friction and to prevent its 'wrinkling.'"

The second figure represents wheel gearing to regulate the cylinders and "to give them all motion at the same time."

The third figure represents "the apparatus used to colour the paper," namely, "a cylinder running in a trough of colour," and "two cylinders, one to press the paper to the colour roll, and the other to act under a brush to smooth the colour."

SHELLEY AND THE TRELLISED GRAPES

After the Eckhardt-Sherringham era English production sank for a time to a very low ebb,* but not so low that it cannot furnish examples worthy of record. It is by no means extravagant to attribute to a wallpaper of this period a great share in shaping the life (for good or ill) of the poet Shelley.

In March, 1811, Shelley, not yet nineteen, had been expelled from Oxford for contumacy in connection with a pamphlet supposed to demonstrate "The Necessity of Atheism," which he was accused of having written, and, accompanied by his friend, Thomas Jefferson Hogg (who had been expelled at the same time for his sympathetic defence of his fellow-student), had not unnaturally made his way to London. The morning after arrival the two friends started out to find lodgings. According to Hogg, never was young poet so hard to please, so capricious.

"At one place he fell in dudgeon with the maid's nose; at another he took umbrage at the voice of the mistress. . . . I began to grow tired of the vain pursuit. However, we came to Poland Street [Oxford Road, now Oxford Street]; it reminded him of Thaddeus of Warsaw, and of freedom. A paper in the window announced lodgings. Shelley took some objection to the exterior of the house, but we went in and this time auspiciously. There was a back sitting-room on the first floor, somewhat dark but quiet, yet quietness was not the principal attraction. The walls of the room had lately been covered with trellised paper; in these days it was not common. There were trellises, vine leaves with their tendrils, and huge clusters of grapes, green and purple, all represented in lively colours. This was delightful; he went close up to the wall and touched it: 'We must stay here; stay for ever!'"

There was some debate about the second bedroom and "the authorities were consulted below, but he was uneasy and eyed the cheerful paper

* Typical of the debased taste of the period may be cited a set of papers intended to be used as borders, engraved by Thomas Rowlandson, the caricaturist, after drawings by G. M. Woodward. These were published by R. Ackerman, 101, Strand, in 1800, entitled "Grotesque borders for screens, billiard rooms, dressing rooms, etc., etc. Forming a caricature Assemblage of Oddities, Whimsicalities, and Extravaganzas. With appropriate labels to the Principle Figures." They consisted of a number of "funny pictures," expressing some of the coarse humour of the period in Rowlandson's well-known style—ridiculous elderly lovers, blowsy belles and dapper beaux, slatternly viragos, and the rest of his grotesques—in strips about three inches wide. As the meaning of each of the episodes, which were quite unrelated, could only be grasped on a close-range inspection, the production must have utterly failed as a wall decoration. In somewhat of the same vein, but not quite so dreadful, was a series of "horsey" and "doggy" scenes, carried out in stronger colours and more continuous in design, engraved by Merke, after R. B. Davies, and published in 1810, by C. Random, at the Sporting Gallery, 65, Pall Mall, with the title, "New Invented Borders for Rooms, etc., of Field Sports."

wistfully during the consultation." Terms were come to, and the poet and his friend settled down to await events. "Shelley's bedroom was also overspread with the trellised paper. He touched the wall and admired it. 'Do grapes really grow in that manner anywhere?' he asked, with obvious delight."

What an impression this paper made on both Shelley and Hogg is seen from the further reference which Hogg makes to it when he records how, at the end of nearly a month, he went to York to study law, the intention being that Shelley should follow him in a short while:—

"I quitted Shelley with mutual regret, leaving him alone in the trellised chamber where he was to remain, a bright-eyed, restless fox amongst sour grapes, not, as his poetic imagination at first suggested, for ever, but a little while longer."

Left alone, and in disgrace with his father, Shelley was almost immediately thrown by Fate across the path of Harriet Westbrook, who was at school with his sisters at Clapham. There is little need to recall how, within a few months, the young poet and this beautiful daughter of a retired London publican fell in love and eloped to Scotland to enter upon a boy-and-girl marriage, which, after the nuptial ardours had cooled, proved to be an ill-assorted union. But it is, perhaps, not unduly straining history to speculate that had it not been for the trellised grapes, Shelley's life might have taken a different course from that which ended so tragically off the Tuscan coast, barely twelve years later.

LEIGH HUNT'S TRELLISED PRISON CELL

A trellis wallpaper also played an important part in the central episode of the life of another great figure in literature, one who a few years later formed one of the little band of friends who carried out the cremation of poor Shelley's body on that Tuscan shore, and to whose pen we owe an unforgettable picture of the tragic scene.

In February, 1813, Leigh Hunt, with his brother John, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £1,000 for publishing in their journal, *The Examiner*, an article on the Prince Regent, which was held to be libellous. It was an article which spoke of him as "a fat Adonis of fifty." Leigh Hunt served his term in the old Surrey Prison, and in his "Autobiography" is to be found an account of his experiences, related with the simplicity and the humanity which marked all his writings.

In the month following his incarceration he was removed to the infirmary, which was not, as he imagined, a place set aside for the sick, but a building in the prison grounds where he was given the use of two wards on the lower floor, and was allowed the society of his wife and family, and the visits of his friends, including Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Lamb.

"One of these wards," he records, "I turned into a noble room. I papered the walls with a trellis of roses. I had the ceiling covered with clouds and sky; the barred windows I screened with Venetian blinds; and when my book cases were set up with their busts, and flowers and a pianoforte made their appearance, perhaps there was not a handsomer room on that side of the water. I took a pleasure when a stranger knocked at the door to see him come in and stare about him. The surprise on issuing from the Borough and passing through the confines of a jail was dramatic. Charles Lamb declared there was not other such room except in a fairy tale. . . . When I sat amidst my books and saw the imaginary sky overhead and my paper roses about me I drank in the quiet at my ears as if they were thirsty."

Another interesting literary reference to wallpaper, about the same period, is contained in Maria Edgeworth's "The Absentee" (1812). In her racy way she describes how Mr. Soho, who considered himself to be the "first architectural upholsterer of the age," is showing his wares to Lady Clonbrony—"Turkish tent drapery in apricot cloth or crimson velvet," "Seraglio ottomans," "Alhambra hangings," and so on:—

"See, ma'am (unrolling them). Scagliola porphyry columns supporting the grand dome—entablature, silvered and decorated with imitation bronze ornaments; under the entablature a valance of puffed scarlet silk would have an unparalleled grand effect, seen through arches—with the Trebisonde trellice paper would make a *tout ensemble* beyond example! On that 'Trebisonde' trellice paper I confess, ladies, I do pique myself! Then for the little room, I recommend turning it temporarily into a Chinese Pagoda with this Chinese Pagoda paper with the porcelain border and josses and jars and beakers to match. I can venture to promise one vase of pre-eminent size and beauty. Oh, indubitably! if your la'ship prefers, you can have the Egyptian hieroglyphic paper with the Ibis border to match! The only objection is one sees it everywhere—quite antediluvian—gone to the hotels even! but to be sure if your la'ship has a fancy—At all events I humbly recommend what her Grace of Torcaster longs to patronise, my Moon Curtains and Candlelight Draperies!"

TEMPORARY DECLINE IN ENGLISH STANDARDS

Several causes contributed to the declension in prestige of English wall-papers after the Eckhardt and Sherringham era. The absence of healthy competition, the semi-atrophy of artistic fecundity, and the blindness or indifference of the Government to the country's real interests, as demonstrated by the heavy taxation and other burdens imposed on the trade, all these probably had some effect.*

Crace, in his paper before the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1839, bemoaned the decadence of English productions. "Look at what was done by our English manufacturers, Eckhardt and Sherringham, 50 years since," he exclaimed, "their works equal those of the French of the present day. From whence then arises our inferiority in this art—for that we are inferior all must confess."

Possibly the loss of our important American market to the French, to which he specially referred, could have been explained, not only by the antipathy to the Mother Country that was a natural result of the War of Independence, but by the sympathy to France which was an expression of the victorious colonists' gratitude for help during their time of need.

The total prohibition of imports, and the consequent absence of stimulus from new ideas, combined with a heavy tax on home production, and the lack of any organised provision for artistic training, contrasted with the French policy of admitting foreign productions of sufficient excellence to surmount the import duties, while at the same time leaving their manufacturers unhampered by any special tax. As Crace said:—

"From this time (following the Eckhardt and Sherringham period) the French began to excel in this superior branch of art, which with us had fallen on such barren ground. Their manufacturers were encouraged in every way by their Government and the Emperor Napoleon to attempt that perfection which they have now so successfully attained. Large premiums were given for the best attempts at a superior style and they were thus enabled to execute even copies of grand historical paintings, landscapes and ornamental decorations by very beautiful designs."

* A contemporary reference to which some importance must be attached was in the following terms: "The Government restrictions on the trade have always borne heavily upon it. The payment of £20 for an annual licence imposed by the 24 George III, c 41; the declaration that all paper-hangings 'must be executed on first-class paper,' 42 George III, c 94; the Excise Duty on paper of 3d. per pound, and the 1½d. per square yard for printing, all combined to keep up the price, and enabled the French to outstrip us, and consequently to shut up trade and prevent competition."

France was quite well aware of the secret of her superiority. In An. VI of the "Revolutionary Calendar" (1797), the Jury of the Lycée des Arts reported (translation):—

"Our manufacturers of paperhangings have reached a high degree of perfection. France owes her superiority in this respect to the study of drawing, which ordinarily forms part of the education of the industrial classes, and of which the knowledge has spread to the well-to-do, who are the principal consumers, and whose taste ultimately determines the direction which the manufacturers give to their work."

Mawer Cowtan, addressing the Decorative Art Society in 1844, had a similar story to tell of neglected opportunities, though in his time there were signs that the dawn was again beginning to break. Explaining French predominance, he said:—

"Academies were instituted in France at which every branch was cheaply taught—our School of Design has only been in existence a few years. Still, with all its difficulties and drawbacks we have kept on amazingly, and improvements from time to time have been issued, particularly among the minor branches of the art which were formerly in a very ill and wretched state. . . . If we cast our eyes towards the French, as our principal competitors, we find that the methods in practice here are precisely the same as they have in use; that in the mechanical branches we are superior, and the colours we employ are far more durable; that at one time we equalled their productions of the present day, and the only difference that exists is our want of proper artists, and, of course, the want of proper instructors to educate them for the profession. While they employ (as did our former manufacturers) men who understand the principles of design and the harmony of colouring, and who make it their aim to unite every beauty with taste and cultivated judgment, we throw all this important branch upon persons who, to gain a scanty living, require to unite the two professions of designer and dealer in block-cutting! . . . The designer in England is not deemed the man of talent—the man of genius—who is looked up to as possessing great and superior abilities, whose refinement of mind ensures him respect and honour wherever he goes; on whom the manufacturer depends for his success in trade—he on whom devolves the important task of creating from his practice or mind beautiful forms and elegant combinations, it is a melancholy fact, is paid less for his labour than the mechanic that is merely employed to print the pattern after it is prepared to his hand."

What manner of productions were these that saddened Crace and Cowtan? Possibly the trellised grapes that enchanted Shelley in his London lodging-house, and even the trellised roses that helped to make Leigh

Hunt's prison quarters remind Charles Lamb of *faërie*. Certainly, one would say, Mr. Soho's pretentious atrocities mentioned by Maria Edgeworth.

It would seem that paper-stainers and manufacturers at this period devoted a good deal of effort to imitating more costly materials—velvets, puckered silk, marble, wood, and so on. It was a line of least resistance, at all events of least adventure. Elaborate loopings and festoons of heavy drapery were an effect commonly aimed at; and these were usually carried out in "flock," with no little technical excellence, but with an utter absence of taste or appropriateness. Among the popular colours brought into service were rose, forget-me-not blue, sky-blue, pea-green, gold, buff, Royal blue, purple, crimson, orange, and black. Another vogue was for baskets and bunches of flowers, usually combined with ribbon effects and rendered as naturalistically as possible.

This craze for imitating costlier materials than paper was, however, by no means confined to England. The French, too, were bitten by it, and particularly from 1797 to 1806 their manufacturers were continually taking out patents for imitating *linon batiste*, *mousseline*, and satin, in order to imitate pleats, embroideries, and guipures. Henri Clouzot, Conservator of the Musée Galliera, Paris, has an interesting commentary on this phase of French production in an able introduction which he furnished to Nancy McClelland's "Historic Wallpapers" (Philadelphia, 1924). After speaking of the movement for producing simulated draperies, he says it was easier for England to get back to truer art, because the French in the Empire and Restoration period had started on laurel wreaths in green bronze, medallions in grisaille, gilded palms, trophies of war generally. This led them into the anecdotal (which Clouzot regards as regrettable), culminating in the elaborate "scenic" papers, to which reference is made later. Allied with this type of decoration was the vogue, which existed both in England and in France, for Greek and Egyptian *motifs*—sphinxes, mummies, and conventional variations on the lotus-leaf form.

Our illustrations in Plates 71-78, give a good idea of some of these uninspired ideas of decoration. The imitation moulded cornices and friezes of J. Duppa, of Old Broad Street, some carried out in heavy distemper, others in a mixture of stain and "flock," and the quaint Egyptian border (Plate 67), are characteristic of the period. The shading, giving the

appearance of bas-relief, seen in the ivy pilaster as well as in the imitation wood-carved border, was a favourite device. Even in the ceiling paper (Plate 80), which is specially interesting as being one of the earliest papers for this purpose, the gilding has a raised or *appliqué* effect.

Two specimens of the firm's later productions (after they became known as Duppa, Slodden, and Collins, and subsequently as Duppa and Collins), shown in Plates 81 and 82, indicate a lighter touch. The floral sprig on a "watered" ground, dated 1835, was probably in contrast to the prevailing taste, and the bird and flower pattern has a vivacity and freedom which were not common in its day (1840).



65. "STORK" PAPER AT TEMPLENEWSAM

Not the least interesting of the handsome paper-hangings at Templenewsam is the above charming specimen, a reproduction of a paper dating back to about 1780, and supposed to have been manufactured by the Eckhardts, of Chelsea. A fine engraved black outline has been used for the principal objects, and the whole design is carried out with great delicacy. The paper is in strips of unequal widths, the main panel being 14 inches wide, while the side panels and stilings together measure $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Reduction, 1— $7\frac{1}{2}$. (Permission, Leeds Corporation Art Committee).



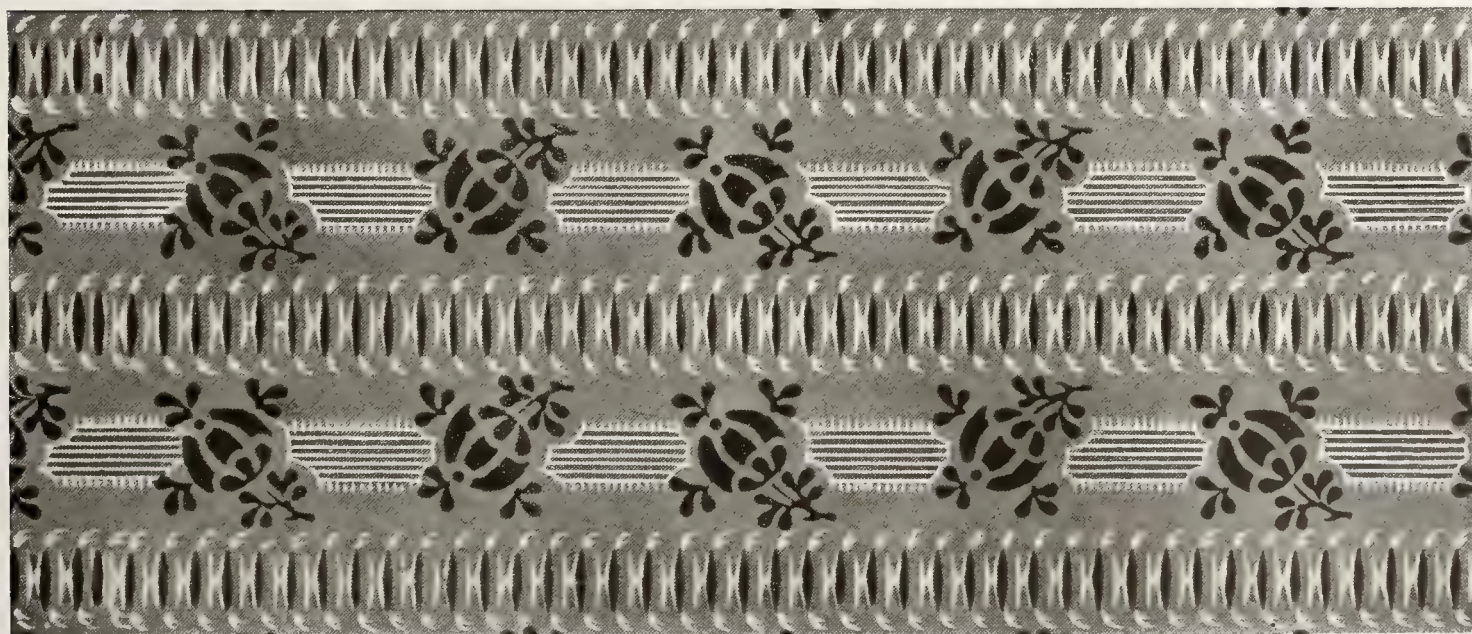
66. A DAINY CHINTZ EFFECT

This charming English "ink and water-colour" paper, where every portion, even to the outline, is done by hand, dates back to 1790, and has been attributed to Sherringham or the Eckhardts. It bears the "G.R." (Serial letter L) excise stamp on the back. Reduction, 1—9. (Permission, Metford Warner).



67. QUASI-EGYPTIAN BORDER

About 1800, many decorative motifs were borrowed from Egypt, especially for borders. The specimen illustrated was carried out in seven colours, including a heavy salmon "blotch." The ornamental part of the design is carried out in blues and buffs. Reduction, 1—3.



68. 18th CENTURY STRIPE

This three-colour block print on a bright yellow ground, dates from 1770, and is interesting as an attempt to get away from simple stripes. It bears the "G.R." stamp on the back. Reduction, 1—3.



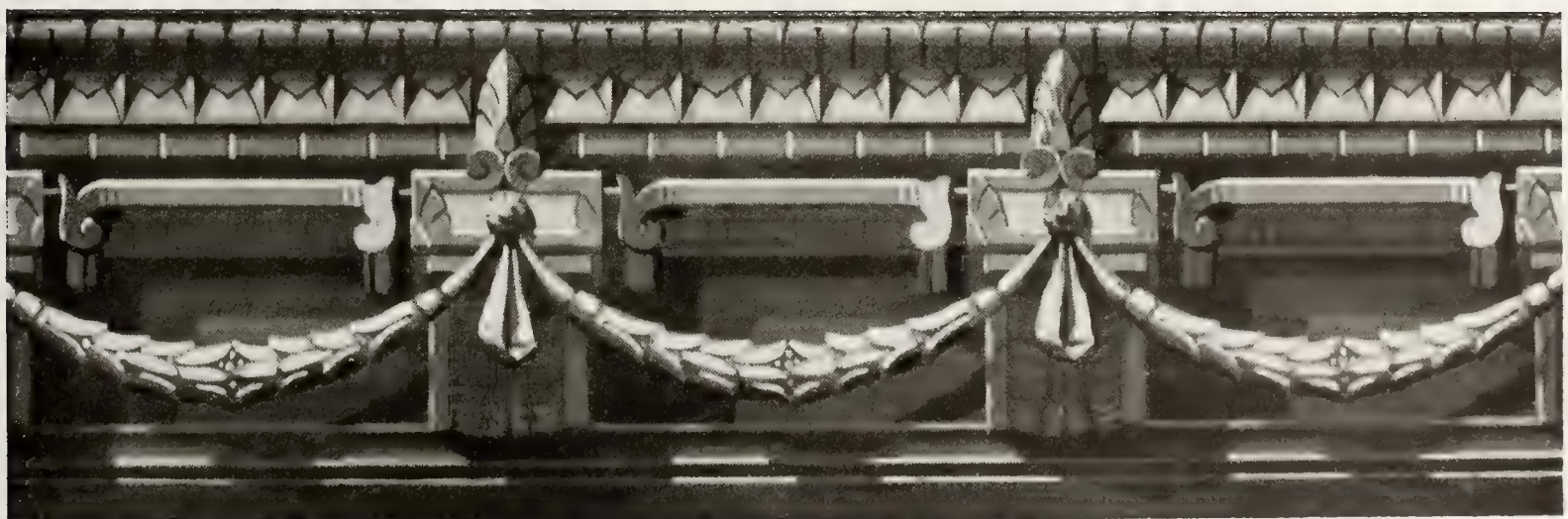
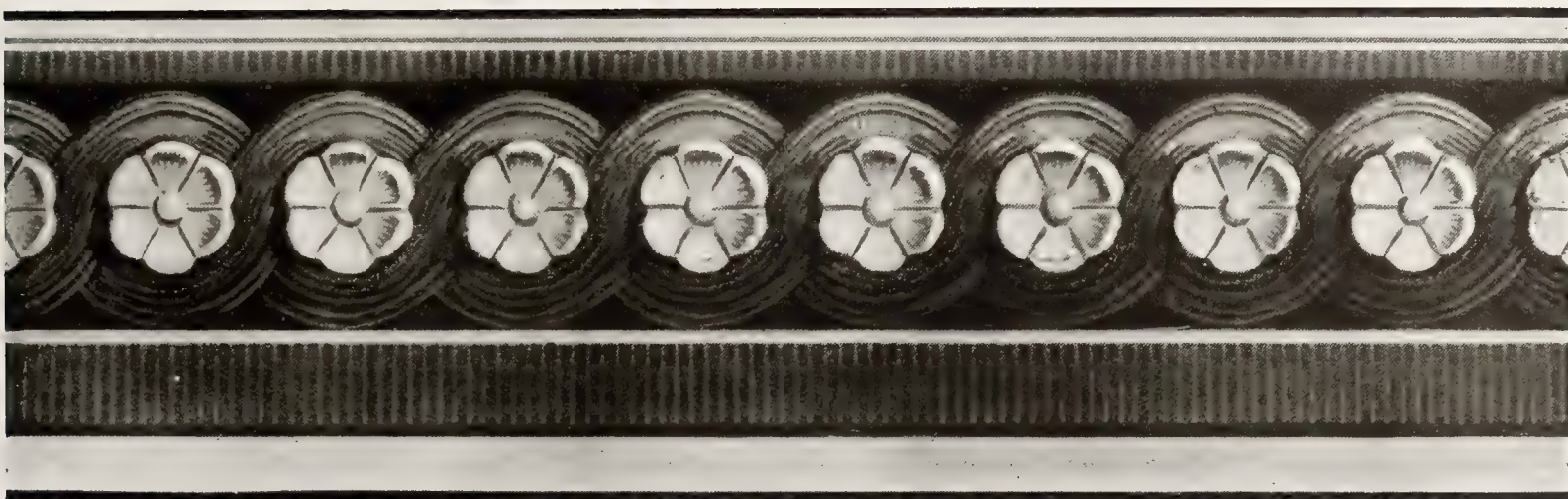
69. SATIN-GROUND RELIEF EFFECT

This three-colour effect on a grey "satin" ground illustrates the striving after relief effects that prevailed about 1800, the date of the paper. The colour scheme is in cream, blue, and dark brown. Reduction, 1—5.



70. TYPICAL PAPER OF 1800

Another typical block-printed 1800 paper, showing a curious combination of conventional and naturalistic floral motifs, carried out in three colours, on a white "satin" ground, more or less covered by a blue "blotch." The design is picked out in two shades of grey. Reduction, 1—5.



71, 72, 73. BORDERS IMITATING STUCCO

The three examples above, by J. Duppa, date back to about 1800, and illustrate a type of border, imitating stucco mouldings, either plain or possessing a varied amount of enrichment, which was very popular about this time. The original of 71 is in one or two tones of sepia. The other two in gay colours, including metal embellishment. Reductions, about 1—2.



74, 75. ANOTHER TYPE OF ENRICHED BORDER

Two more borders, by Duppa, dating back from 1800, less architectural in feeling. The top specimen is carried out in buff, with a dark "blotch" and the bottom one in green and gold. Reductions, about 1-2.



76. AN ELABORATE BLOCK AND "FLOCK" EFFECT

Another type of border common about 1800, is illustrated in this specimen, which was produced in nine block-printed colours, combined with "flock" Reduction, about 1-2.



77. IVY PILASTER

Section of a pilaster showing in high relief an ivy motif, by Duppa & Slodden. Date, about 1820. Reduction, about 1—2.



78. "STRAPWORK" BORDER

Section of a border imitating "strapwork" wood-carving, by Duppa, Slodden & Collins. Date, about 1830. Reduction, about 1—3.



79. RED AND GOLD "FLOCK" PAPER

This example, produced by John Gregory Crace, with its well-defined geometrical forms, was a red and gold "flock" paper. It dates from 1820, and illustrates a more restrained artistic expression than was common at that period. Reduction, 1—5.



80. AN EARLY CEILING PAPER

This ceiling paper, which dates from about 1824, was printed in gold by Duppa, Slodden, & Collins. The striving after relief effects is to be noted. Reduction, 1—5.



81. SPRIG AND MOIRE-GROUND FILLING

An interesting experiment, by Duppa, Slodden & Collins, which aimed at simplicity, with a sprig on a ground imitating a "watered" textile fabric. Carried out in about eight colours, and dated about 1835. Reduction, 1-7.



82. EARLY VICTORIAN BIRD CHINTZ

The freedom and naivety of this charming bird chintz, produced by Duppa & Collins, about 1840, and executed in about eight colours, were quite unusual at this period. Reduction, 1-7.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMING OF MACHINERY

PAPER IN ROLLS INSTEAD OF SHEETS—THE FIRST SUCCESSFUL PRINTING MACHINE—A MECHANICAL BLOCK-PRINTING DEVICE—MANY OTHER INVENTIONS—BLOCK-PRINTERS' STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE—EARLY EMBOSSING EFFECTS—PRE-MACHINE PERIOD CONDITIONS.

NO doubt a good deal of the lethargy that overtook English wallpaper production at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century was due to the political unrest of the times. Apart from the re-action which the French Revolution induced through all grades of society, this country was called upon to bend nearly all its energies to resist Napoleon's ambitions.

Not for the last time it fell to Britain to bear the brunt of the fight for freedom in Europe; and the nation had sterner matters with which to concern itself than the development of domestic decorations. For all that, the time-spirit of an age which was still a little "heady" over its mechanical advances could not be denied; and search of the Patent Office records testifies to the keenness of the quest for some means to produce wallpapers by machinery.

We have already said that until paper could be produced in continuous lengths, it was impossible to hope to make headway with the idea of turning out wallpaper at a speed which would bring it within the reach of all. To Louis Robert, a French book-keeper, employed in the paper mill of François Didot, at Essonnes (Seine-et-Oise), is due the honour of having made a small model machine in 1799, which successfully produced long lengths of paper.

Robert's first experimental model was "no larger than a bird-organ," and the slips of paper it made "no wider than a piece of tape." His experiments occupied his spare time for several years, and he was often reproached by his employers for wasting his time. But after his first model was successful they put at his disposal all the necessary means for making a larger working model.

The troubles of the war prevented much progress being made, but after the Peace of Amiens, Leger Didot, the junior member of the firm, bought a share in the invention, and proceeded to approach his brother-in-law, John Gamble,* an Englishman on the staff in Paris of the British Commission for the exchange of prisoners of war, with a suggestion that they should come to England to seek support from engineers and paper-makers in order to develop the invention. Gamble obtained the necessary sanction of his superiors, and the two proceeded to London, where in 1801 and 1803 they obtained patents "for making paper without seam or join, from one to twelve feet in width and from one to forty-five feet and upwards in length."

Gamble obtained an introduction to Messrs. Bloxam & Fourdrinier, one of the leading wholesale stationers in London, and the brothers Henry and Sealy Fourdrinier purchased a one-third share in the patents. Like so many other inventions destined ultimately to attain success beyond the dreams of their authors, it was not a profitable speculation to any of those originally connected with it. Before Robert's working model, which was brought over to this country, was properly developed, a great deal of money was lost, and Gamble himself (as he afterwards contended) even lost whatever rights he had in the patents.

Be that as it may, the modern paper-making machine is known as the Fourdrinier machine, and it is on the same principle as that invented by Robert, developed by Gamble and Fourdrinier, and finally perfected by Bryan Donkin, a clever mechanic engaged with John Hall, a millwright, of Dartford, to whom the work was entrusted. After three years' diligent experiment and improvement by Donkin, the French model was set up at Frogmore, Herts., and in 1805 an entirely new machine was erected at Two Waters, Herts., capable of making paper 54 inches wide. Except for minor improvements and developments in size, this was a modern paper-machine.

It was not before 1830, however, that the Excise Authorities in this country would permit the use of continuous lengths of paper-hangings. They were intent on collecting not only the duty of 3d. per pound on the paper, but also the tax of 1½d. per square yard for its being stained, and it was not until after the prohibition of imported wallpapers was

* Gamble had a brother James, described as a paper-maker and engraver, who lived in Paris at the time of the Revolution, and, singularly, occupied part of the premises of Robert and Arthur, two English paper-stainers established in the French capital (see page 58).

removed in 1825, and French papers began to come into the country (despite the almost prohibitive duty of 1/- per square yard, or about seven francs per French piece), that permission was given for English wallpaper to be printed on continuous rolls. A well-known London firm, Messrs. Williams, Coopers & Co., who had a large wallpaper factory in West Smithfield, were on three successive occasions before 1828 refused permission by the authorities to use continuous paper.

On the effect of the prohibition of foreign wallpapers, as well as of the high protective duty which followed its relaxation in 1825, a vivid light is thrown in a statement made some years later by M. Zuber, the famous wallpaper stainer, of Rixheim, in Alsace. When foreign papers were allowed into this country, M. Zuber came over to see if he could find a market even with the high duty of 1/- per yard.

“To my astonishment I found I was able to enter into considerable transactions. ‘You beat us completely,’ was what I continually heard from the English dealers on showing our products. This state of things continued till 1834. Our importations at last pushed the English manufacturers into the improvement of their work, and at this latter date the English Government reduced the customs duty to one-half and took off, at the same time, the stamp duty on English-made paperhangings. Our business was not in any way augmented, but the English manufacture made such progress that in 1846 Sir Robert Peel made a new reduction of the import duty by two-thirds, *i.e.*, reduced it to twopence a yard or about one franc per piece. A violent shock to the English manufacture followed, but a salutary effect was quickly produced on it. During the first year of the new regulations our importations doubled themselves; they, however, soon fell off again, but not before this heavy competition had impelled the English manufacturers to such exertions that now, with a duty of one-sixth of that of 1825, we find a difficulty in introducing merchandise to the same amount as then.”

THE FIRST SUCCESSFUL PRINTING MACHINES

The credit of successfully using machinery for producing wallpapers on a really commercial scale is generally admitted to belong to the firm of C. H. & E. Potter, of Darwen, Lancashire. The date when their products were placed on the market was 1841.

The story begins at Dob Meadow Print Works, occupied by Potter and Ross, calico printers. Charles Potter, with the help of Walmsley Preston, foreman machine printer, in 1839, had started to experiment in trying to print wallpaper on the calico printing machines by means of engraved

rollers. The experiment was not at first successful, and later in the year Potter left Ross and started in business with his brothers, Harold and Edwin, as paper-stainers, at Belgrave Mills, where they were joined by Preston (who had a distinct *flair* for ingenious mechanical contrivances, and had been greatly interested in the experiments), in the capacity of works manager.

Further experiments with what are known as surface rollers, that is, rollers where the pattern was not engraved on the metal, but was left "raised," just as in the wood-cut blocks, but in cylindrical form applicable to rotary printing, were more successful, and indeed proved to be the solution of the problem.

One of the difficulties in using engraved rollers had been to get a solid and uniform body of colour, but by furnishing the surface rollers with colour from sieves similar to those used in hand-block printing, the results, though not perfect, were sufficiently good, combined with the enormously increased rate of production, to secure an extensive sale for the output. With the mechanical improvements which followed from time to time from one or other of the Potters, or from Preston, the manufacture of machine-printed wallpapers was soon on a sound commercial basis.

In the early stages some difficulty was met with in properly drying the rapidly printed paper. At first a number of cast-iron stoves, brought to a great heat, were installed in a long narrow room, and the paper, after leaving the printing machine was passed through this chamber—known to the workpeople as "th' 'ot 'ole" (the hot hole). This method was not too successful, and it was replaced by a kind of flue arrangement heated with coke, on top of which were placed steel plates, over which the paper was passed. This, too, had its drawbacks, as the paper was apt to catch fire unless constantly attended by boys.

The solution of the difficulty came from a system of steam chests, similar to one patented by Joseph Birch, in 1838, which heated the air of the drying room. This method has since been improved to such an extent that papers can be automatically dried as fast as they are printed by the most rapid machinery.

In 1846, Harold Potter would appear to have got over the trouble of the engraved roller, for in that year he took out a patent for printing in stripes from rollers and also for printing from engraved rollers from which the surplus colour had been removed by "doctors." This

method, though customary in calico printing, was not at the time brought into general use for wallpaper, but it was undoubtedly the precursor of the modern practice of printing what are known as "sanitary" papers, that is, papers which are washable.

As bearing on the credit due to the Potters, it is worth noting that in the Jury's Report on the 1851 Exhibition, when all the circumstances would be fresh in memory, John Gregory Crace said:—

"Paperhangings have been printed in England by means of hand machines for many years, the papers being made in lengths of 12 yards. It was not till about ten years ago what is now understood as machine printing was fully introduced, and this was done by Messrs. Potter, of Darwen, who, by means of steam power, artificial drying, and an endless reel of paper, were enabled to produce with good effect by surface roller printing in several colours, on the principle of calico printing. . . . These machines are now capable of printing 1,000 to 1,500 pieces per day, and the product, although not equal to block printing, yet, at the small price, has to a large extent superseded the cheaper kinds made by hand."*

Besides those mentioned there had been many attempts during the previous twenty years to arrive at the same goal. In London, Jeffrey and Wise, a firm whose contributions to the development of wallpaper production during the past eighty or ninety years have been surpassed by no other, had also been working to the same end, and they are credited with putting down the first machine in London at their factory in Kent and Essex Yard, Whitechapel. A Liverpool firm, which originally appears in Gore's Directory in 1805, under the title of Mrs. Mary Troutbeck, 4, Great Charlotte Street, and later as Wilfred Troutbeck, afterwards Troutbeck & Brown, at various addresses—Fraser Street, Renfrew Street, Cooper's Row, Hanover Street, and Fleet Street—claimed to have used a calico printing machine for printing wallpaper in 1838,

* Some idea of the cheapness and variety of wallpapers for general consumption is gathered from an advertisement in the Manchester Directory, for 1850, for William Shiers & Co., "paper-hanging manufacturers and London and French paper-hanging merchants," whose warehouse was near the Exchange, at the Victoria Bridge end of Deansgate, and who claimed to have in stock a quarter of a million pieces—"the largest stock in the kingdom," and "the cheapest ever yet offered." They had papers at 4d. per piece, satins at 1/-, "flocks" at 2/-, and golds at 4/-. They claimed to be sole agents for "two principal London manufacturers and also a first-class house in France." By way of comparison may be quoted Tallis' "London Street Views" (1839), which contained various paper-hanging advertisements. As machine-printing was in its experimental stage, it may be assumed that the goods advertised were all block work. R. Chater of 6, Bridge Row, near Queen Street, Cheapside, for instance, had bedroom, passage, and staircase papers at 1d. per yard, and parlour papers at 2d. Satins, "flocks," and other papers were "in proportion," and black and gold mouldings at "var. prices." In the same publication, J. Thompson, of 124, Cheapside, and 386, Oxford Street, advertised "Rooms may now be papered for less than they can be stencilled. A good-sized room may now be papered for 5/-; bedroom papers from ½d. per yard; parlours in every variety of colour from 1d. to 2d.; satin papers, 3d.; crimson 'flock' metal, 3d."

but probably theirs was only one of many similar experiments about this time. At all events, it is clear that about the beginning of the fourth decade of the century, a number of firms turned their attention to machine-printing, and equally evident is the beginning of the decline in block paper-staining, except of the highest class.

A firm of paper-makers, Evans & Fisher, of Tamworth, Staffs., were among the first to try to make a commercial success of machine-printed paper-hangings. They would appear to have had the idea of increasing their sales of paper by turning it into hangings, and this they began to do about 1837, with machinery and operatives imported from Lancashire.

The Excise regulations required that unless paper-staining was carried on at least a mile away from where the paper was made, the paper duty of 3d. per pound (as well as the staining duty of 1½d. per yard) must be paid on the total weight of the output, and in order to keep this as low as possible the firm specialised in designs which used a minimum quantity of colour and consisted of the simplest geometrical lines. Even so, the tax became so irksome that, faced with the alternatives of building a paper-staining works at least a mile from their paper works, in order to avoid part of the tax, or giving up paper-staining altogether, it was decided to adopt the latter course, and the firm reverted within a few years to its original enterprise of manufacturing plain paper.

The machinery and operatives went back to Lancashire, and it is quite likely this circumstance helped to foster the development of the industry in that county. Seeing that steam-power was used in the Tamworth paper mill, it is probable that the paper-staining machinery would be steam driven, in contrast to some of the early rotary machines, which were turned by means of a handle operated by man-power.

A MECHANICAL BLOCK-PRINTING DEVICE

Many authorities, especially Continental writers, have given the credit for being the first machine printer of wallpaper to William Palmer, a paper-hanger of Lothbury, who had been printing by blocks since about 1817, and who, on April 22nd, 1823, patented a process for printing by means of wooden blocks raised and lowered by mechanism which procured a perfect register and administered the colour to the block by means of an elastic roller. It would appear, however, that the

printing was not rotary, but was in fact mechanically-aided block work, with the colour furnished by means of a roller instead of dipping the block on the colour sieve. Palmer, in his specification, claimed several novelties which are noteworthy:—

“In order to identify and distinguish as closely as possible the particular parts and combinations of machinery applicable to the manufacture of paper-hangings, I hereby declare, Firstly, that I claim the sole right of applying pressure to the roll of paper to be printed, and to the wire or axis upon which the paper is coiled, by which pressure the straight edge of the paper, after it is uncoiled from the roll, may be continually forced against a fixed guide; the guide being so placed that the paper does not come in contact with it until uncoiled, and also the use of a plain roller applied upon the paper which, when combined with the fustian, or other endless web, will effect the passage of the paper through the machine in one continued straight line; and I hereby further declare, Secondly, that I claim the sole right of using a crank, which I call a driving crank, in the way I have described, for giving pressure to the printing blocks in paper-staining, and also of using two other cranks, one of which I call a principal crank, and the other a parallel crank, by the use of which, in the way I have described, the printing block may be raised parallel to the slab on which the paper is printed. And, Lastly, I hereby further declare that I claim the sole right of applying colour to the under surface of flat blocks in paper-hanging manufacturing, by means of a roller, or rollers, when such blocks are attached to machinery for the purpose of printing paper for paper-hangings.”

Palmer moved to 172, Bishopgate Street Without about 1829,* and in the following year to 12, Wilson Street, Finsbury. He apparently gave up business in 1832, but in 1837, from Sutton Street, Clerkenwell, took out another patent which appears to have been a slight modification of the earlier one.

Seven years before Palmer took out his first patent, Edward Cowper, described as an ironmonger and mechanist, of St. Mary, Newington Butts, patented an invention for “a method of printing paper for paper-hangings,” which “consists in curving or bending stereotype plates and printing with the same. The stereotype plates are taken from plaster moulds with the alloy used for printers’ types; they are then heated equally and

* In the London Post Office Directory for 1829 is an advertisement of William Palmer, Paperhanging Manufacturer, of 172, Bishopgate Street Without. It contains a wood-cut of a machine entitled “Palmer’s Patent Paperhanging Printing Press,” which apparently produced paper at the following low prices:—

2½d. per yard and upwards.

6d. per yard and upwards for Satin Papers.

Blended Colour Papers, flock and metal, and the richest leafage papers at prices in proportion.

laid upon a level board with the face downwards, some soft substance being placed between the plates and the board. The whole thus arranged is passed between cylinders, the pressure being according to the curve desired." Cowper, who in the meantime had invented a printing press, took out a second patent in 1823, supplementing his original one.

MANY OTHER INVENTIONS

A machine for making plain striped patterns was brought into use about the same time. Crace in his Lecture already quoted, refers to it, but omits to mention specifically who was responsible for its invention. He says, however, it printed stripes with great exactness and clearness, whereas the usual method of using blocks always made an imperfect line. In this machine a copper trough, in which narrow slits of the required breadth were cut at the bottom, was filled with colour, and as the paper was made to pass over a revolving cylinder it drew the colour through the slits in the trough, thus forming the stripes. In all probability this was the machine which Digby Wyatt mentions as being introduced into Paris through the house of Dauplain fils et Leur, by Thomas Clarke, of 60, High Holborn, in 1829. Clarke had been located at this address since 1826, trading as Clarke & Wiggins. Prior to this, however, a patent was taken out by Clarke & Henderson for "rainbowing" by means of cylinders (1825), and it is recorded by a well-known German authority, F. Fischbach, that in 1829 the same firm "invented rotary machine printing." One of Clarke's devices for producing an endless line by means of stencil plates and a revolving brush caused a strike when introduced into the Dauplain factory, and in consequence was abandoned. In another reference Fischbach says that Clarke & Henderson "introduced the continuous printing press in 1829. England, therefore, takes the lead in technical invention for paper-making." Fischbach's tribute should be accepted with reservations. On April 19th, 1836, John Parkinson, of Rose Bank, Bury, Lancashire, calico printer, took out a patent for "Improvements in the art of block-printing." The improvements applied particularly to that part of the block-printing "in which it is desirable to print two, three, or any required number of colours upon velvets, muslins, calicoes, paper, etc.," and they were effected "by forming the whole of a many-coloured design or pattern upon one block" instead of using a separate block to fill in each colour.

In 1837 came application by James Matley, "of Paris and Manchester, gentleman," for two patents—one on August 2nd for "a machine called a 'tiering machine' upon a new principle, for supplying colours to and to be used by block printers in the printing of cotton, linen and woollen cloths, silks, paper, and other substances and articles to which block-printing is or may be applied, without the aid or assistance of a person to tier upon," and the other on November 23rd for an invention to perform the "tiering or distribution of the colour by mechanical means." The patentee described the machinery in detail, but did not confine himself "to this particular construction of the machine."

Augustus Applegarth, of Crayford, Kent, another calico printer, on May 22nd, 1838, took out a patent for "Improvements in apparatus for block-printing on paper, etc." The patentee describes at length a machine "for printing four colours." "The material to be printed is guided by a roller to 'the feeding drum,' another roller guides it on to the printing table; and another, aided by a 'drawing drum' which is covered with a 'black cloth' draws it off the table after being printed. Another roller guides the printing blanket to the feeding drum which it passes. The material receives the impression on 'a piece of endless japanned cloth' which 'passes over and is guided by several rollers.'" The manner of using the machine is described as follows:—"The attention is required of (1) a 'lifting boy' to lower the block carriage so that 'one block rests upon the printing table whilst the other dips into one of the sieves'; (2) a 'rubber boy' to cause 'the rubber to pass under and along the sieve, raising it into contact with the block'; (3) a tierer to brush the colour 'upon that sieve which is opposite to the block which is printing'; (4) a printer to give the impressing block 'the blow with the hammer upon the false back.'" (Each has other duties to perform which the patentee describes.)

To illustrate his Lecture before the Society of British Architects, Crace exhibited a good many specimens of contemporary wallpapers, and it is clear that by this time (1839) considerable headway was being made, especially by the firm of Archer & Taverner,* of Lothbury. Crace attributed two important mechanical devices to this firm. One was

* Archer & Taverner were established as paper-stainers at 142, Old Street, St. Luke's, in 1836, and were succeeded in 1847 by Elisha T. Archer, who moved to 451, Oxford Street in 1849, and to 7, Great Trinity Lane, E.C., in 1856. In 1872 he again moved to 3, Cannon Street and shortly afterwards gave up paper-staining.

a method of placing blocks on the sieve and then on the paper which was "performed with great exactness with the labour of merely turning a lever handle which is done by a boy"; in other words, dipping and printing mechanically, which led to the apparatus (according to Frederic Aumonier) being called "The Grasshopper." The other was a method for giving delicate shaded effects by a single impression "by what is called pinwork on a cylinder."

"The pattern is formed by small brass pins of various sizes fixed on a wooden cylinder at different spaces, according to the depth of shade required. This fixed in a machine is made to revolve so as to be supplied with colour from a blanket, and at the same time printing the pins on paper very speedily without interruption, and as may be seen with great exactness and good effect. This process only lately applied to paper-staining is derived from one which resembles it in use in calico printing, only that the latter so far differs that the colour is contained inside the cylinder and the pattern represented by holes pierced into instead of pins fixed on it."

It would seem that Archer & Taverner had grasped the root of the matter some time prior to 1839, though according to the late G. H. Morton, F.G.S., in a paper delivered before the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society in 1875, the machine was too heavy for a boy to move.

BLOCK-PRINTERS' STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

It will be seen that some of these efforts to speed up production had to do with block-printing. Many of the old block-printers must have "felt it in their bones" that the advent of machinery could not leave their craft undisturbed, and it was natural that they should try desperately to compete with the invader on his own ground. Looking back this seems to have been a mistaken policy, and it would have been wiser to have concentrated on maintaining, and if possible improving the superiority of their design and product. The new-comer being based on calico printing borrowed his styles from that industry. Originality was neglected by both branches, and the block or roller-cutter was actually the chief purveyor of new designs. But not only was the policy mistaken, it was hopeless, and only led to block work being turned out of a distinctly inferior standard. Take the case of Archer & Taverner's "Grasshopper." It certainly quickened the process of printing, but at what cost? The work, we are told, was rough and the "register" was crude.

For a time, however, the block-printers appear to have thought they were succeeding. In an article in the "Journal of Design and Manufacture" for 1851 on "Improvements in Paper-staining," it is said:—

"This combination of circumstances (the development of machine-printing borrowed from calico printers and the importation of French paper-hangings) has driven the block-printers of England to consider how they could create for themselves work, which they can execute at a price and in such a manner as will again drive from the field their hitherto successful rivals; and this they appear partly to have accomplished by means of improvements recently introduced.

"The first improvement introduced was the process of patching the sieve, or covering it in parts with various colours instead of one colour only, as was the case under the old process. Thus two or more colours are worked by one block, and as the ordinary size colours are used, the advantages of the single block-printing are preserved. The second improvement* consists in increasing the size of the block, and so arranging the designs upon it, that five or more colours may be printed at one operation, by working the block in half-lengths, the colours being so arranged that while one-half of the block is laying in what may be termed the first tint, the other half follows with a second colour. By this latter process papers in twenty or thirty colours are printed from four blocks, one man and a boy being all that are required to work them; and the principle is capable of extension to an almost unlimited extent. Papers printed in twenty-three colours can now be sold retail at 3½d. per yard, whereas, if produced by the old method, they could not have been sold for less than 10d. per yard."

In the light of modern development, it sounds almost pathetic when the writer goes on to say:—

"Had the block machine-printing been adopted by the paper-stainers at the time of its introduction, it is probable that the improvements which would necessarily have followed would have kept the cylinder machines out of the field."

Hinchliff & Co. were mentioned as "working the new process extensively."

EARLY EMBOSSING EFFECTS

There were other inventions in the first half of the century that contributed to the evolution of wallpaper. In September, 1829, Thomas Cobb took out a patent for embossing, which, while more germane to the development of "raised" materials used for wall decoration, had considerable influence on the production of novel effects in papers not depending on "relief"

* Frederic Aumonier says this process, which necessitated the use of "Jiggers," as well as "Drop-blocks," in order to carry some of the weight, was the invention of Charles White.

for their principal attraction. A patent had been granted in 1796 to John Gregory Hancock for "a new manufacture, videlicet, paper ornamented by embossing and enchasing"; and even earlier, in 1764, "The Society of Arts in the Strand" gave a premium of £50 to Benjamin Moore "for the introduction of the manufactory of embossed paper into this Kingdom and making that paper superior to that imported from abroad." But Cobb's invention evidently had a permanent effect on the industry, for twenty years later "The Journal of Design and Manufacture" referred in August, 1849, to Cobb's patent for embossing and his system of through dyeing or staining as having made "a wonderful difference in the character of English hangings," while "the introduction of satin facings (that is satin white grounds rubbed with French chalk until a polish is obtained) and of shaded stripes and softened flowers, all have materially affected the present form of article." One can picture from Cobb's specification rather more readily than is usually possible from such documents, what his invention consisted in:—

"First, in manufacturing tinted paper or coloured paper intended to be applied to the covering of walls or hanging rooms, by impressing them with patterns during the operation of making. Secondly, embossing paper with patterns for the same purpose after the paper is made, and which, by the pressure it receives during this operation, is made to resemble plain, damask, or figured silks. Thirdly, in uniting two or more thicknesses of paper together for the same purpose previously to their receiving the embossing, one of which may be coloured paper and the other white. Fourthly, uniting for the same purpose paper with silks, velvets and other fabrics, so that if plain they may receive an impression or pattern by embossing, and may also be stuck on walls with the same facility as paper only is commonly done. And fifthly, in the apparatus of uniting papers, or paper and other fabrics, as above mentioned."

In August, 1834, Thomas de la Rue, described as a fancy stationer, of Finsbury Place, Middlesex, took out a patent for "improvements in manufacture or preparing embossed paper-hangings." The improvements consisted first "in preparing the back of embossed paper-hangings with spirit or oily substances suitable for resisting the moisture contained in the paste used for sticking such paper to walls of rooms, whereby such embossed paper-hangings will retain the sharpness and beauty of the embossing." Secondly, "in the production of paper-hangings with embossed parallel lines in the way of the length of the paper, that is, in such manner that when the paper-hangings are pasted on to walls,

such lines run upwards, at right angles to the floor, and whereby an increased beauty of effect will be obtained from the light playing or acting on the surface of such paper."

The tale of what may be called prime or cardinal inventions enabling machinery to be applied to the manufacture of wallpapers on a large scale, is virtually complete with a reference to a device for "grounding," patented in 1814, by which Timothy Harris applied colour by means of a brush having eight radiating branches, the machine being turned by hand.

PRE-MACHINE PERIOD CONDITIONS

It is noteworthy that about 1800 there were some 150 "paper-stainers," that is, block printers or "marble" paper-makers, or both, in existence in this country. The large number of firms was partly due to the fact that, as described in page 114, conditions were favourable to each district having its own paper-stainers. The number was also influenced by the circumstance already mentioned that many of them were themselves decorators and hung their own products, as we have seen in the cases of Bromwich, Robson & Hale, Spinnage, and even the great Chippendale. In directories of the period, firms who are known to have been prominent in the manufacture of paper-hangings are described sometimes as paper-hangers and sometimes as paper-stainers.

Up to the time of machine-manufacture, block-printing and "marble" making were frequently part of a decorator's business, and there were probably few such not in possession of a greater or less stock of block designs. The plant required for block-printing is so inconsiderable that it will be easily understood how block-printing and decorating were linked up as complimentary occupations.

The decorator was, of course, much of a "decorative artist" in those days, and at a later period we find such men as John Gregory Crace, his son John Diblee Crace, Mawer Cowtan, and others, who apparently exercised a great influence on the type of design used by block printers, though they did not, so far as records show, hand-print themselves. The wallpaper middleman, or distributor, is of much more recent growth, and he also was a development from the decorator or "decorative artist," and frequently practised a certain amount of block-printing.

Two documents bearing on the conditions existing about the time machine printing came in and illustrating some of the difficulties of wallpaper

manufacturers before the country was covered with a network of railways, have come into the writers' possession and are worth referring to at this point.

One is a memorandum as to the channels of distribution of paper-hangings which has been preserved among the records of the firm of Jeffrey & Co. It dates back to 1838, and contains instructions as to how goods ordered by customers in different parts of the country were to be dispatched. For instance:—

Goods to Truro by steamer.

By coach to Brighton.

(Another will send us canvas for packing in.)

By waggon to Bath.

To Gainsboro' by steamer from Custom House, and thence per waggon to Grantham.

To Newark per waggon from The Three Cups, Aldersgate Street.

Leeds to be sent to Mr. Hy. Briggs, Overton, near Wakefield, per Deacon's waggon, thence per David Briggs' cart—The Huddersfield Carrier, from Wakefield.

The other is an invoice dated July 2nd, 1840, for two lots of sixteen rolls each of "Long Elephant," bought by C. H. & E. Potter from C. H. and E. Hilton, "paper manufacturers, bleachers, and finishers," of Darwen Mills. The date, of course, is that of the Potter-Preston experiments, and that no doubt accounts for the modest quantity ordered, though it seems probable that the experiments were already successful, for the same year Potters acquired Hollins Mill, an old bleach works, for conversion into a paper mill for their own use. The prices of 7d. per lb. (which included four rolls of "brown 2nds") and 8½d. per lb. respectively indicate how relatively dear was the raw material of wall-paper at this stage; fifty years later "Long Elephant" for common use in machine-printing cost not more than 1¼d. per lb.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW WALLPAPER “FOUND” ITSELF

MECHANISM *versus* ART—FREEING THE INDUSTRY FROM TAXATION—ENGLAND’S LEAD IN CHEAP PRODUCTION—PUGIN’S CRUSADE FOR TRUE GOTHIC FORM—MID-CENTURY SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT—THE STIMULUS OF EXHIBITIONS—THE FIRST GREAT INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION—ENGLISH PAPER-STAINERS AND THEIR EXHIBITS—TAKING STOCK OF PROGRESS—REVIVAL OF NATIONAL CRAFT-PRIDE.

WE have now brought the story of the development of wallpaper production to the point where the machine era may be said definitely to have begun. It has been seen that the pioneers were many, each in his way fumbling for the right path, and each, no doubt, contributing something, even by his failures, to the general advancement of the means which cheapened production and led to wallpaper becoming one of the amenities of civilized life whose influence is too easily taken for granted.

Henceforward, the story is concerned chiefly with actions and reactions affecting artistic expression and artistic taste throughout the Victorian age, or with economic development resulting from the enormously-increased production now possible. Just as the calico-printing machine, which was the direct progenitor of the wallpaper-printing machine, has scarcely changed since it was invented by Bell in 1783, so there has been little, if any, essential alteration in the mechanical means of producing wallpapers which came in about the time of the accession of Queen Victoria.

Minor changes, such as appliances for measuring and counting the pieces, refinements in embossing and finishing, the use of a greater range of colours through the discovery of synthetic dyes, the development of aerograph tinting alongside the ancient handicrafts of block and brush stencil work, and, in addition, all that modification of small-scale production which becomes inevitable when an industry attains to mass-production proportions, might be described more fully if it were not that after all these are relatively matters of detail, and can be studied in technical text-books.*

* A summary of the more important mechanical improvements is given in pages 177-183.

Interest in the development of the industry from this point lies rather in tracing how artistic impulse fought a long battle, with varying fortune, on the one hand with debased taste in design, and on the other with a vigorous commercialism which was indifferent to æsthetic considerations so long as material success was achieved. The divine spark, though often obscured, was never wholly extinguished, and it had a trick of bursting out with unexpected brilliance in one quarter or another.

The economic importance of the industry began to grow by leaps and bounds. Figures giving the total yield of the duty paid by paper-stainers show that just before the machine period set in, the production of paper-hangings in this country had grown five-fold in the previous seventy years. In 1770 the duty brought to the Exchequer £13,242 (independent of the duty on plain paper), and in 1834 it yielded £63,795. The stages of growth may be traced from the following table :—

1770	..	..	£13,242	1820	..	..	£34,246
1780	..	..	11,955	1830	..	..	44,835
1790	..	..	19,204	1833	..	..	53,986
1800	..	..	24,811	1834	..	..	63,795
1810	..	..	32,228				

FREEING THE INDUSTRY FROM TAXATION

Of the yield in 1834, £58,851 came from England, £436 from Scotland, and £4,508 from Ireland. It is curious that the production in Ireland was ten times that of Scotland, but we learn that at this time there were 108 paper-stainers in England, only two in Scotland, but 46 in Ireland. While these figures are not a true index of the relative magnitude of the industry in the three countries, they are interesting as testimony to the fact that the manufacture of wallpaper obtained a very tenuous foothold in the northern Kingdom.

The relatively small yield of the tax in Ireland gives some colour to the allegation frequently made at the time that the Excise authorities of that country, either from habit or conviction, were not so strict as their colleagues in the other parts of the United Kingdom. Nominally, the duty in Ireland was about equal to the cost of manufacture, and it is a remarkable fact that Irish papers were imported into England and sold for one-third less than those of English make.

Even so, the Irish producers, probably on account of the limited consuming capacity of the country, found difficulty in keeping their heads above water, and several of them ultimately crossed over to Cumberland to set up business in Whitehaven, ultimately moving to Liverpool, where, in the early part of last century a little colony of them was settled in the Hanover Street district.

Incidentally, the figures afford a justification, if one were needed, for the use of the word "English" in the title of this book.

The output of paper-hangings in 1770 was 255,731 pieces; in 1834, 1,222,753. The increase from then onwards was startling. For this, two causes were responsible. Contemporaneously with the development of rotary printing, which began about 1840, the industry was beginning to be freed from the burden of taxation. In 1836, the duty on paper was reduced by Sir Robert Peel from 3d. to 1½d. per pound (plus 5 per cent. on paper of foreign make), and the paper-staining duty of 1¾d. per square yard entirely abolished. In 1846 (a year in which 500 designs for paper-hangings were registered in London) the duty on foreign paper-hangings was reduced from 1/- to 1¾d. per square yard. The paper duty was finally abolished by Mr. Gladstone in 1861 as "a hindrance to education and a tax on knowledge"—a step which meant an immediate loss to the Exchequer of £1,400,000 a year.

The effect on wallpaper production of the development of machine printing on the one hand and the abolition of taxation on the other, was seen in the fact that the output of just over a million pieces in 1834 had increased in 1851 to five-and-a-half million pieces; in 1850 to nineteen millions, and in 1874 to thirty-two millions.

ENGLAND'S LEAD IN CHEAP PRODUCTION

It is not to be wondered at that at first, with the national instinct for practical achievement, attention was absorbed in developing and exploiting the mechanical side to the neglect of artistic progress. Characteristically, it is during this development that special tribute is paid to English progress by the German writers of the period, who, no doubt, would be more impressed by cleverness in manufacturing than by artistic results.

There is no doubt that in cheap production England soon began to take the lead. When Ivan Zuber, grandson of Jean Zuber the elder, founder of the famous house at Rixheim, which claims to have been printing

from engraved rollers since 1827, visited this country in 1850, his eyes were opened to the tremendous possibilities of up-to-date machinery, and it was from Manchester that he ordered his first steam-driven machine.

According to Zuber's diary, he came to Lancashire for the double purpose of selling the ultramarines which his firm was making, and "to look into the matter of printing machines with surface printing rollers." As a result of his investigations among calico-printers, he ordered a machine from "Hautson" [presumably James Houtson & Co., millwrights, civil engineers, and machinists, Minshull Street, Manchester]. It was 80 centimetres wide, and was capable of printing six colours by means of surface rollers. He mentions the further interesting circumstance that it was exactly similar to a textile printing machine, and records how he "visited the works of Thomas Hoyle & Co. (M. Graham),* 10 to 12 machines, three to six colours, one to four, and immense plant for drying and ageing. They have machines with surface printing rollers, and even machines with both surface printing and engraved metal rollers. . . . At Simson Jang's [?Simpson & Young's]* they showed me surface roller machines."

Zuber also mentions that his Manchester machine "was the first put up in France for continuous mechanical movement. In our country, at that time, we only knew small one or two-colour machines turned by hand, roller by roller." It cannot be doubted that what he saw at the calico-printers in the way of multi-colour printing by means of surface rollers influenced him in deciding to develop machine-printing.

Further testimony to the advance English paper-stainers had made in cheapening production is found in a criticism contained in the first number of the "Journal of Design and Manufacture," of a "cheap English paper chintz pattern, cylinder printing, sold by W. B. Simpson, 456, West Strand, London." (Reproduced in Plate 88).

"This is a fair specimen of the cheapest cylinder printing of home make. If the French beat us in art, we have the palm for cheapness, which the public so much applaud. This chintz pattern is well covered, cheerful, and suitable enough for a bedroom. Cheap as it is, it would be even cheaper if the paper had not been subject to the Excise Duty which sadly impedes the use of paper of a better quality, and is a tax both upon intelligence and manufacture."

* Thomas Hoyle & Sons and Simpson & Young were two of the leading calico-printing firms of the day, the former having works at Mayfield, Manchester, and the latter at Foxhill Bank, Accrington.

"The Journal of Design and Manufacture" was an illustrated periodical, published by Chapman & Hall, and "dedicated to Prince Albert in respectful acknowledgment of the uniform and successful endeavours of his Royal Highness to aid the progress of the arts and manufactures of his adopted country." It had only a short life, from March, 1849, to February, 1852, but its pages, seen in perspective after the lapse of three-quarters of a century, furnish an impressive reflex of the times and of some of the matters with which producers and designers concerned themselves. Among its contributors were some of the leading persons of the day interested in raising the standard of design, including Digby Wyatt, Richard Redgrave, W. Dyce, John Bell and Owen Jones (of whom more hereafter).

Laments at the decadence of English production are quite frequent—in the very first number, for instance, describing a graceful French "imitation muslin" pattern, the writer says it has a curious kind of history:

"Nearly fifty years ago these imitation muslin patterns were produced in England as good in manufacture as the specimen in question; they went out of use, were adopted by our neighbours, are now imported into England, and patterns very like the present have been copied by our own manufacturers from French copies of the English originals!"

The journal to some extent constituted itself an arbiter in regard to applied art of every kind, and no doubt helped to correct debased taste. On one page we find it castigating a designer from the School of Design for a "curious incongruity of styles crudely assembled together," in a pattern for a dinner plate—the ornament on the rim being "purely Louis Quatorze, joined to a massive ornament of an Alhambra character, and the centre rather nondescript, but of the Italian school, if of any." In another place it waxes sarcastic at the "not uncommon" offence of a decorator who makes "the frieze Greek, the rosette in the ceiling French, and the paper-hanging Gothic."

PUGIN'S CRUSADE FOR TRUE GOTHIC FORM

Crace and Cowtan had not carried the fiery cross in vain during the thirties and the forties, and they were no longer voices crying in the wilderness. Schools of Design began to be fostered by the Government. As might have been expected, they were quarrelled over by the "experts," and were constantly being taken up by the roots, as it were, to see if they were growing. But progress was really taking place. Some of

the leading artists and designers of the day threw themselves into the task of trying to educate public taste. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, "the thunderer," as he was sometimes called, was perhaps the most outstanding influence in this revival. He both preached and practised, and the greater purity and simplicity of design which were a corollary of his architectural ideas, as expressed in "The Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture," were an important step towards freeing his generation from the over-elaborated eccentricities of expression that piled one style on another in a meaningless medley of ornamentation.

The son of Augustus Charles Pugin, himself an architect of repute, of French birth, Augustus Welby Pugin was born in London in 1812. As a boy he showed remarkable promise. He was only 13 when he accompanied his father on a professional visit to Paris, where he took part in preparing architectural drawings, while the next year he was engaged in making investigations and drawings of Rochester Castle, specimens of which still exist to testify to his artistic draughtsmanship. He was in his early twenties when Charles Barry sought his assistance in preparing detailed drawings for the new Houses of Parliament. There is no evidence in support of the claim made after his death by his son, Edward Welby Pugin, that he, and not Barry, actually conceived the scheme, but he undoubtedly impressed his own personality and artistic ideas on the manner in which it was carried out.

The wallpapers which Pugin designed in 1843 for use in the new Parliament buildings, which were entrusted to John Gregory Crace, and executed by Scott & Co., opened the eyes of the art world to the possibilities of Gothic ornament, as conceived by Pugin, applied to purely decorative ends. He had criticised in scathing language—

" what are termed Gothic patterned papers for hanging walls where a wretched caricature of a pointed building is repeated from the skirting to the cornice, in curious fashion—door over pinnacle and pinnacle over door. This is a great favourite with hotel and tavern keepers. . . . The variety of these miserable patterns is quite surprising; and as the expense of cutting a block is equal, if not greater than for a good one, there is not the shadow of an excuse for their continual reproduction."

At another time he said:—

"Upholsterers seem to think that nothing could be Gothic unless it is found in some church. Your modern man designs a sofa or an occasional table from details culled out of Britton's Cathedrals,

and all ordinary articles of furniture which require to be simple and convenient are made not only very expensive but very uneasy. A man who remains any length of time in a modern Gothic room and escapes without being wounded by some of its minutiae may consider himself extremely fortunate. There are often as many pinnacles and gablets about a pier glass frame as are found in any ordinary church, and not infrequently the whole canopy of a tomb has been transferred for the purpose, as at Strawberry Hill. I have perpetrated many of these enormities in the furniture I designed some years ago for Windsor Castle. At that time I had not the least idea of the principles I am now explaining."

Pugin's guiding principles in design of all kinds may be gathered from the two great rules he laid down for design in architecture :—

"First, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety; second, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building."

How austere and simple were these Gothic designs of his, which brought a new note of restfulness into a style that had been perverted more than most, can be seen from the examples from the House of Commons set, illustrated in Plates 83, 84, 85 and 86, which were executed by Scott & Co., about 1848.

With Pugin fidelity to true Gothic principles was the be-all and end-all of art. It was not only an austere, it was a narrow creed; most of his successors were a little more catholic in their tastes, but it has been said that his was the most sincere, the most faithful and most emphatic work that had been executed in England since the 15th century, and it fulfilled its purpose in stemming the tide of bad art that threatened to come in with the era of machinery.

John Dando Sedding, himself no mean artist, in his "Art and Handicraft," which was written when Pugin's work could be seen in proper perspective, said :—

"Pugin found a very bathos of bad taste in architecture and along the whole line of art industries, and he did what he could. . . . We should have had no Morris, no Street, no Burges, no Shaw, no Webb, no Bodley, no Rossetti, no Burne-Jones, no Crane, but for Pugin."

Besides the work on the Houses of Parliament, Pugin also sought the association of John Gregory Crace in carrying out many of his designs for interiors, such as Easton Castle, Leighton Hall, near Liverpool, and

Abney Hall. Though Pugin's efforts in improving taste in paper-hangings were so important, they were only a small portion of his life's work as an architect and writer, and it is not surprising that under the stress of a career of activity such as is granted to few, and in which he had his full share of vicissitudes, his mind gave way and he died at the early age of 40.

MID-CENTURY SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT

The eight specimens from the "Journal of Design" (1849-51), illustrated in Plates 87-94, are interesting, not only as examples of the better taste of the day, but also, in some cases, of greatly improved technique. By this time machine-printing had made considerable strides, and some of the papers displayed a most interesting and ingenuous use of the new process. It is not surprising that many of the effects were still borrowed from calico-printing, and that though for the most part it had been found necessary to use surface rollers there were certain effects only possible by means of the engraved roller of the calico-printer. For instance, it is obvious that the paper-hangings (by C. H. & E. Potter and W. B. Simpson), shown in Plates 87 and 88, had each gone twice through the printing-machine, first for the "pin" ground, which must have been printed from an engraved roller, as it would have been impossible to peg a surface roller sufficiently finely; and a second time for the more highly-coloured floral objects, which would be printed from surface rollers, or possibly in Simpson's specimen they were "blocked" in.

In Plate 89 (William Woollams & Co.), the filigree ground would appear to have been machine-printed and the ivy-leaf pattern printed from blocks. Even to-day the critic's comment—

"This is certainly the best adaptation of the ivy to a paper-hanging we have seen,"

is by no means extravagant. The dark leaf is printed in a shining colour like lacquer, which adds greatly to the effect.

The primrose motive in grey and white on a vermillion ground (Plate 90), by Charles J. Gordon* is, as claimed, "novel and pleasing." The monochrome reproduction fails to do it justice owing to the property of red coming out very dark under the photo-etching screen.

* This business was founded by Gordon & Tombs at 42-43, Poultry, in 1848. From 1851 it was carried on by Charles John Gordon, who gave up manufacturing about 1857, though continuing a painting and decorating connection.

The maroon "flock," gold and white paper (Plate 91) by Hinchliff & Co., and the imitation "flock" (Plate 92) by Robert Horne & Co., in maroon, brown, fawn (two shades), and yellow and white, speak for themselves. They have a boldness which in proper surroundings must have been very effective.

As for the convolvulus pattern (Plate 93), a satin-damask block paper of Hinchliffs', not only was it a technical success, the satin-like surface of the leaves being as good as anyone could require, but it admirably fulfilled the purpose for which it was intended, viz., "The ground is well covered and is sufficiently subdued so as not to destroy any pictures or ornaments placed against it."

The two-colour machine-printed paper of John Woollams & Co. (Plate 94), produced in grey and blue on a white paper, is an effective treatment of a simple geometrical pattern and was intended to be sold cheap.

THE STIMULUS OF EXHIBITIONS

The "Great" International Exhibition of 1851, in London, marks an important milestone in the progress of wallpaper manufacture. Though by no means the first gathering together on a considerable scale of specimens of industrial art, it was the first in which the whole world was invited to take part, and in addition it was far and away the biggest effort of the kind yet conceived. From both these two points of view it appealed to the imagination of the hour in a way it is now hard to realise.

France had had her expositions of arts and manufactures, more or less successful, ever since the days of the Revolution, and there had been similar efforts in this country, either in London, under the ægis of the Society of Arts, or in the leading cities of the provinces, such as Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester. To the success achieved by the "Exposition of Manufactures" organised by the Royal Manchester Institution in 1846—which was an extraordinarily well-arranged and successful affair—is due the fact that in the following year the Society of Arts took its courage in both hands, and began a new series of exhibitions of a character so deserving, that it only needed the stimulus of the Prince Consort's encouragement to develop them into the world-famous affair of 1851.

The Society's new policy brought fresh life and usefulness to an organisation which, after a long and honourable career, was in danger of becoming atrophied. Originally formed in 1754 to encourage "arts, manufactures, and commerce," the Society had spent £100,000 with that object, but it had tended in time to degenerate into a mere channel for the distribution of gold and silver medals to little boys and girls. The more important projects to which it now set its hand were much more in keeping with its original aims.

The leading paper-stainers of the day were not behind any other section of manufacturers in helping to make this new series a success. In 1849 the Council of the Society formally thanked W. B. Simpson for his efforts in inducing some of the most eminent manufacturers to co-operate with him in getting together a representative collection of British paper-hangings for the Third Annual Exhibition.

On this occasion the Gold Iris Medal was given to Simpson, and silver medals were awarded to Townsend & Co., and to William Woollams and Co. At the same time awards of money (with, in one case, a silver medal) were given in the artisans' class to Thomas Ascroft, John Lewis King, and Robert Rudus Havers—in each case for "an arrangement of the hop as a paper-hanging," evidently a set subject.

At this exhibition Simpson showed some of his "Kalsomine" paper-hangings. They attracted the attention of The Prince Consort, with the result that Simpson received a commission to decorate four rooms in the new part of Buckingham Palace.

Not a few English firms were now striving hard to recover the initiative in production that had been for so long surrendered to the French. Among them, in addition to those already mentioned, were Jeffrey, Allen and Co., T. Clarke, Turner & Williams, G. J. Morant, John Lewis Aubert, C. Norwood, Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith, The London Paperhangings Co., Trumble & Cooke, Godwin & Cunnington, Colleau and Toleman, Samuel Scott, Williams, Coopers & Boyle. Contemporary evidence would suggest they were striving not without either hope or encouragement. A writer in the "Journal of Design" for August, 1849, said :—

"We believe that general opinion is now fairly aroused as to the importance of design—that the public are convinced that its absence is a national disgrace—that the manufacturers would recognise its presence as a source of individual gain. Such imperfections cannot

exist in an energetic country like England without consequent movement and reform, and therefore it is that we have great hopes in this trade as well as in many others, we shall convert our position of followers into that of leaders, and that, instead of degeneration we shall have progression on all hands."

The journal further asserted that "There is one comfort in perceiving that it is only in design that they (our continental contemporaries) are so superior, and that in all the material essentials of manufacture we are fully upon a par with the French, our only serious antagonists or rather rivals."

In the review there is a criticism of a paper of Hinchliffs' that speaks volumes for the patriotic point of view of the reviewer:—

"6765. Would that this were English really. It appears to be a free and perfected version of an old Chinese paper and has been admirably got up by Messrs. Hinchliff."

Neither John Baptist Jackson nor Isaac Ware could have conveyed disparagement of the Chinese subject with the delicacy which this critic displays; is it that a more urbane time-spirit was abroad, or that Art was beginning to be a little less race-conscious?

The journal's comments on a few of the leading firms are worth reproducing:—

"Messrs. Hinchliff are celebrated for the excellence of their papers, their old and honourable standing and the largeness of their transactions. Mr. Simpson is noted for the zeal and ability with which he pursues the union of art with mechanism in his productions. Messrs. W. Woollams and Townsend are particularly reputed for the excellence of their flower chintz and imitation damask papers. Messrs. Horne & Co. not only produce good things themselves, but tend, in some degree, at least, to neutralize an inevitable evil by exhibiting an admirable public taste in the large amount of foreign goods they import. Mr. Norwood's* decorations are well-known, not only to the trade, but to the public as well."

THE FIRST GREAT INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

When the project of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, in 1851, began to take shape, the scale on which it was planned frightened some people, but under the inspiration of the Prince Consort it exhilarated others.

* Charles Norwood, whose productions were also mentioned with approval by a reviewer of the Exhibition of the Society of Arts, 1849, was established at 13, Bridport Place, New North Road, in 1843, with a branch at Essex Street, Kingsland Road, which in 1852 was transferred to the Strand. An ambitious scenic panel of his is mentioned in page 155. Apparently the business came to an end about 1870.

For months before it was ready it almost monopolised public attention. The Press was full of it, and discussion of one or another aspect of it reverberated across every tea and dinner table in the land.

When it became known that of the 233 competitors' plans, the Building Committee, after fifteen protracted sittings, had come to the conclusion that none was suitable—the public having shown such a decided antipathy to the erection of anything like a permanent building in Hyde Park—it was no wonder that all but the stoutest hearted began to foresee a fiasco. The Building Committee themselves prepared a plan, but it was of extreme ugliness, unnecessarily large and costly.

It is ancient history now how Joseph Paxton, who was erecting at Chatsworth a huge glass and iron conservatory, chiefly to shelter the Victoria Regina lily, convinced the Committee that the principle of his Chatsworth building was capable of almost unlimited expansion for the purpose aimed at, and the wonderful "Crystal Palace" he provided had not a little to do eventually with the *éclat* of the Exhibition. It is almost like a romance to read that the first rough drawing which he gave Henderson & Fox, the contractors, for submission to the Committee, was actually made on a sheet of blotting-paper.

As the opening drew near, the most absorbing question of the day was whether, as the pessimists and detractors doubted, it was humanly possible for such a colossal undertaking to be ready by the scheduled time, or whether, as the optimists and supporters equally firmly declared, it was incredible that the opening could be other than a success. Probably, no exhibition in any part of the world has escaped a similar experience, but this was the first on a really large scale, and its difficulties were taken to heart in a way that is almost impossible now to realise.

Properly to appreciate the influence the Exhibition had on industrial art in this country it is necessary to try to recapture some of the atmosphere of hopes and fears with which the enterprise was surrounded in its early stages.

It is amusing to read of some of the "scares." The question of whether Paxton's wonderful glass palace, with its 6,000 columns, its six miles of galleries, and its 1,073,760 square feet of glass (consisting of 294,000 separate panes and roofing, a total area of $18\frac{1}{2}$ acres), would be constructionally sound, was only one of many that exercised the public mind. Quite another standpoint was revealed in the version that

there were myriads of sparrows in the building which could not be exterminated; they could not be shot lest the glass should be broken, and there were not enough sparrow-hawks available to catch them for the opening! (Actually, one solitary sparrow found its way into the Exhibition, and occasionally perched on a tree in the grand hall, a forlorn and no doubt perplexed prisoner.)

As it turned out, the battle of epithets that was waged before the opening—"World's Fair!" "the Temple of Peace!" "the Central Palace!" "the Alhambra of Commerce!" "the Palace of Industry!" clashing with "Great Greenhouse!" or "the Great Glazed Railway Station!"—was quickly silenced and forgotten in the universal enthusiasm and pride which were aroused from the first auspicious and impressive opening by Queen Victoria, "with a sweet and distinct articulation, and with unfaltering voice, though her hand trembled a little."

"The great greenhouse" became "that masterpiece of English art which has already filled the world with its fame and is now delighting every eye with its glittering surface of glass, the bold proportions of its elegant transept and the far retiring perspective of its long and stately avenues of iron."

ENGLISH PAPER-STAINERS AND THEIR EXHIBITS

Every foreign nation, France in particular, recognised the significance of the Exhibition. Something like hopeless envy of Britain's unchallenged supremacy in the "iron age," which had now fully arrived, was to be detected among Continental industrialists. M. Dupin, the French Commissioner, reveals the anxiety a good many of his compatriots engaged in more artistic branches of manufacture felt at this wonderful burgeoning of British effort. In laying down general ideas for the French exhibits, he said, as regards printed paper-hangings:—

"We have brought to a high state of perfection our printed paper-hangings, both for beauty of colouring, for their adjustment, and for elegance of design. It is important that our most beautiful specimens should be exhibited as well as those of the cheapest kinds."

The British paper-stainers also rose nobly to their opportunity, and contributed their share to the 393 exhibits in the Furniture, Upholstery, Paper-hangings, Papier Mâché, and Japanned Goods Section, which occupied over 16,000 square feet of ground space and 25,000 square feet of wall space.

The exhibitors of paper-hangings included the following :—

- Archer, E. T., 451, Oxford Street.
- Arthur, Thomas, 3, Sackville Street.
- *Ascroft, Thomas, 35, Queen's Road, Chelsea (designer and proprietor).
- Barrett, Joseph, 246, Bethnall Green Road (designer).
- Carter (no address; described as exhibiting "designs for paper-hangings").
- Cotterell Bros., Bristol.
- Crace, J. G., 14, Wigmore Street.
- Fletcher, Edwin, Royston, near Barnsley (designer and manufacturer).
- Fletcher, Raymond, Derby (crystal granite paperhangings—washable).
- Gaunt & Son, Wortley, near Leeds (inventors and manufacturers).
- Goddard, John, 7, Bedford Place, Hampstead Road (designer) (design for paper-hangings).
- Haselden, William, Chelsea (designer).
- Heywood, Higginbottom, Smith & Co., 62, Watling Street, London, and Hyde Road, Manchester.
- Hinchliff, N. & Co., 123, Wardour Street.
- Horne, Robt., 41, Gracechurch Street.
- Jeffrey & Allen, Kent and Essex Yard, Whitechapel.
- Law & Sons, Monkwell Street.
- †Marsden, Charles, North Place, Kingsland Road.
- Newbery, J. & R., Hemlock Court, Carey Street, Lincoln Inn Fields.
- Potter, C. H. & E., Over Darwen, and 30, Bridge Row.
- Pugin, Welby (no address).
- Richardson, Charles James, 2, Keppel Street, Russell Square (architect).
- Scott, Cuthbertson & Co., 49, Lower Belgrave Place, Pimlico.
- Simpson, William Butler, 456, West Strand.
- Townsend, Parker & Townsend, 132, Goswell Street.
- Turner, Henry & Co., Elizabeth Street, Pimlico.
- Williams, Coopers, Boyle & Co., 85, W. Smithfield.
- Woollams, William & Co., 110, High Street, Marylebone.
- Woollams, John & Co., 69, Marylebone Lane, Oxford Street.

The high quality of some of their exhibits is to be seen in the facsimile examples (by William Woollams & Co., Nathaniel Hinchliff & Co., and Townsend & Co., respectively) reproduced in Plates 99, 100 and 101, from Digby Wyatt's "Industrial Arts of the 19th Century." It is evident

* See page 146. Evidently the same designer who was awarded a Society of Arts award in 1849 in the artisans' class.

† Marsden appears to have been a very versatile man. In the Directory for 1843, he is described as an "ornamental paper-maker"; in 1850, as an "oilman"; in 1852, as "inventor and patentee of ventilating boots and shoes, ventilating thimbles, scissors to cut with either hand, syphon funnels to prevent fluids from overflowing in filling bottles, rotary water-closets, stench traps, and marble paper-hangings"; in 1858, as "boot and shoe maker"; in 1864, as "house decorator and marble paper manufacturer"; in 1868, his address is changed to 224, Kingsland Road, and in 1877, his name drops out of the Directory altogether. Gustav Iven, a leading German authority, in the course of survey of the wallpaper industry, says: "I remember . . . the marble papers of Marsden (spelled Mardsen)."

that in block-printed paper-hangings of this type the English producers could hold their own.

It was not surprising that William Woollams should excel in the pilaster style, seeing that Woollams had been a pupil and apprentice of the great Sherringham, who had specialised in Arabesques. The specimen exhibited was the one for which he was awarded the silver medal at the Society of Arts Exhibition two years earlier. Digby Wyatt mentions that between sixty and seventy blocks were used for the pilaster alone, and that the whole design cost £140 to cut, a very large sum for a single design in those days.

The Woollams' exhibit, in addition, showed a variety of styles, including Alhambra, Pompeian, and Arabesque pilasters, raised gold mouldings done at the Government School, Somerset House. A particularly handsome specimen reproduced Indian birds and flowers in imitation of mother-of-pearl effects.

Hinchliffs' design, illustrated in Plate 100, if less showy, has a grace of form and charm of quiet colour that disarm hypercriticism. It is presumably the one known to have been designed for them by J. Gregory Crace.

The Townsend & Parker panel, though perhaps over-elaborate, attracted by the variety of its imagination and the delicacy of its colour, especially of the central panel. The border was an extremely ambitious treatment of well-known flowers, naturalistic in form, but conventional in design. Townsend & Parker, who were the only English firm to be awarded a prize medal—though six others received honourable mention—showed in addition to their Arabesque panel design (Plate 101) reproduced in some beautiful decorations both in "flock," and in "flock" and gold. Williams, Coopers, Boyle & Co., showed some fine damasks for dining rooms and a new method of combining metal and "flock."

John Woollams & Co. also made a fine show of "flock" and also metal and "flock" papers, but in addition they showed damasks, floral patterns and borders. An orange and white datura design, drawn by Miss Palmer, of the London School of Design, was specially praised. In the Jury's report they were mentioned for having exhibited "excellent specimens made by machinery in addition to those they make by block printing."

Jeffrey & Co. showed both blocked papers and machine-printed papers. One of their specialities was a frieze 24 feet in length, consisting of selected portions of the Elgin marbles; another was a series of panels

representing "Deer Stalking"; and a third was a set of reproductions after Murillo (one of which is shown in Plate 107), which were of high technical excellence, though perhaps not beyond criticism on the ground of being unsuitable for wallpapers.* Another of their exhibits, a "Green Flock Filling," based on the simple form of the common buttercup, and designed by a pupil from the Spitalfields School of Design, also attracted much attention.

Horne & Co. showed a beautiful selection of paper-hangings imitating knotted oak, pollard oak, maple and satin wood.

W. B. Simpson included a set of papers washable in soap and water. These were printed in distemper colours, and by a patent process the distemper was hardened after printing, and it was claimed not only was it thus possible to retain the bright colours, but that they were as permanent as oil colours.

Scott, Cuthbertson & Co. showed a simple and handsome Tudor panelling, with gold effects upon a white ground, and a border of elaborate design in bold colours.

C. H. & E. Potter, the pioneers of machine-printing, showed specimens printed in fourteen colours.

Heywood, Higginbottom, Smith & Co., who had made great strides in the previous few years, were also represented by an exhibit of machine-printed papers, including some containing twenty colours printed from fourteen rollers.

Turner & Williams'† had a cerise pattern, which was described by a critic as "particularly elegant and ladylike." It was from a design by Marchand, of Paris, and its technical execution was highly praised. Underneath it were two patterns which possessed the property of "glancing," that is altering their appearance as the eye of the spectator moved, "becoming alternatively light on a dark ground and dark on a light ground." This effect was spoken of as being "still a novelty."

* The connexion between Jeffrey & Co., and the productions of Robert Horne was of the closest. Throughout the "forties" the firm was successively known as Jeffrey & Wise; Jeffrey, Wise & Horne; Horne & Allen; Robert Horne; Jeffrey, Allen & Co.; Horne, Allen & Co., and Jeffrey & Co. The Murillo is undoubtedly the same design as that referred to in the "Art Union Monthly Journal," (1847), when, in speaking of some paper-hangings submitted by Robert Horne, it praises especially "a copy of Murillo's picture of 'Boys with the Bread,' executed with so much artistic skill and freedom that at a little distance it resembles a good mezzotint print—yet it is nothing but a specimen of paper staining!" In all probability it had been prepared by Horne, and executed by Jeffrey's.

† Turner & Williams, of Pimlico, a prominent block printing house founded early in the 19th century, one of the partners being Henry Noel Turner. It was located at Spring Garden Place in 1819, and in 1825 moved to Elizabeth Street. The business was apparently given up about 1864.

TAKING STOCK OF PROGRESS

While the Jury's Report on the paper-hanging section spoke of the great strides made by the French during the first half of the 19th century, especially in the way of "embossed 'flocks,' and the shading of 'flocks,' the perfect imitation of chintz, improvements in satin ground and the introduction of work printed from engraved cylinders," it gave credit to the English manufacturers for the great perfection they had attained in the preparation of metal papers, in regard to which it was pointed out that, as the gilding had to encounter a damp and variable climate, it was very severely tested and care was taken by the selection of good material and by coating it with a suitable preparation to produce effects which remained unchanged for a considerable period.* The English manufacturers were also complimented on the many beautiful examples they showed in damask, chintz and flock papers.

In general the English exhibits showed, on the one hand, how great still was the influence of French design on many of their productions—though the Arabesques derived rather from the "golden age" of the Eckhardts' and Sherringham—and on the other hand the prevalence of imitation of marbles, the graining of wood, and even (as in the case of William Woollams), the sheen of mother-of-pearl, which was carried to a high degree of technical merit. One type, however, in which the French excelled—what are called "scenic" wallpapers—struck only precarious roots in this country. In France the style began to find favour at the end of the 18th century, when the Englishmen, Robert and Arthur, who had worked with the great Réveillon, practised it in Paris, and may be said to have been at full tide of popularity from the time when Zuber began to exploit it in 1803, all through the first half of the 19th century.

These panoramic papers, which were designed on sufficiently grand scale to fill the entire wall-space (over a wainscot or dado) of even the largest apartments, covered a wide range of subjects—actual and mythical scenery,

* As far back as 1819, R. Ackermann, in his "Repository of Arts," had advertised "Brunell's Patent Metallick Paper," sheets of which could be made as large as 4 feet by 20 inches. It was claimed to have "an uncommonly novel and rich appearance," and was sold in various shades. Sheets measuring 23 inches by 19 inches were 6/-, and smaller sheets, half that size, were 3/-. They only required a strong paste of flour to affix them to wood, paper, and so on. Crace, in his lecture before the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1839, spoke of "the great beauty and richness" which our manufacturers achieved, "at a comparatively moderate price," in metal papers, imitating gilt leather, rich brocades, or lightly-etched ornament. He traced the gold and silver effects back to the more costly gilt leather hangings, for which our countrymen were famous, even in the time of Henry VIII.

views of famous cities, classical and historical scenes, incidents from popular novels. Sometimes they were carried out in sepia or grisaille, but more often in bright distemper colours. Zuber's "Eldorado," a famous set, required, for instance, 1,800 blocks to produce it. Most of Zuber's Paris rivals exploited the same process. Special mention should be made of Joseph Dufour, who remained in business in the Rue Beauveau until 1845, and employed a number of clever artists and designers. Dufour's series in grisaille, illustrating the story of "Cupid and Psyche," after designs by Lafitte (who had won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1791), was thoroughly typical of the Neo-Grec style of the Empire period.

It is an interesting circumstance that so many scenic papers are still preserved and prized in the United States. The readiness with which the new nation in the early days of its independence would turn to France, who had stood by her in her struggle with the mother-country, is sufficient explanation of this state of affairs; for not only were these scenic papers the latest Paris *môde* to be followed, but in the United States they would make an especial appeal because they served to diminish a natural feeling of isolation, by reminding their beholders of the environment and achievements of their fellows overseas, and compensated partly for lack of opportunity of foreign travel. It is easy to understand that papers of this kind are still greatly prized in the United States, and the older they are the better, as their existence gives a *cachet* of considerable relative ancestry to anyone fortunate enough to possess a specimen.*

Judging from criticism at the time of the International Exhibition of 1851, it would seem that the chief reason English paper-stainers refrained from taking up scenic papers other than to a degree that might be called experimental, was from a feeling that it was neither good art nor good business to go to the trouble of preparing so extensive a mechanical means as the cutting of hundreds of blocks in order to produce effects which, if really wanted, could have been done by hand equally well

* A comprehensive record of these papers, with illustrations of many of the most interesting, will be found in Nancy McClelland's "Historic Wallpapers" (Philadelphia and London, 1924).

A typical scenic wallpaper, most probably of French manufacture, is still on the walls of the coffee room at the White Hart Hotel, at St. Austell, Cornwall, formerly the town residence of Charles Rashleigh of Duporth. It is believed locally to have been hung there between 1794 and 1803. The subject is a seascape in the semi-classical style, with figures, ships, obelisks, etc., treated in neutral tints. It shows practically no "repeat," and is printed by block on sheets 29 in. x 19 in.

by scenic artists. In other words, low as the standard of taste had fallen in this country in the early years of the century, there was a fairly sound instinct that, however admirable the great productions of Zuber and Dufour were, from a technical point of view, they were really alien to the true object of paper-hangings.*

Probably the furthest that English paper-stainers experimented in this type of decoration (apart from the engraved reproductions of Old Masters and classical landscapes by John Baptist Jackson, which were, in a sense, their forerunners) was represented by the Jeffrey exhibit, with its Elgin Marbles frieze, its Deer Stalking panels, and its Murillos. Similar in type also was a decoration by C. Norwood, of Hoxton, illustrated in the "*Journal of Design*" for 1850, showing a spirited scene from a boar hunt framed in an elaborate setting of ornamental panelling. The perverted historical and pictorial sense which prompted the French producers to commemorate in their scenic papers such events as the opening of a new railway, or the sailing of the first steam-boat, led in this country to such banalities as a paper-hanging in 1837, to celebrate the arrival at the Zoo of the first giraffe, or the ugly design (Plate 108) commemorating the London Exhibition of 1862. Equally lacking in true æsthetic feeling was the taste which led to the perpetration of such "decorations" as imitation bamboo panelling and cane-work, wood-work with iron clasps, and so on.

REVIVAL OF NATIONAL CRAFT PRIDE

It is gratifying to record that when the Exhibition of 1851 was over (and by the way it had been visited by more than six million people, a truly astonishing attendance), the Board of Trade, desirous of making a

* The point was emphasised at the Exhibition in 1862, when the Jury, after praising Zuber's exhibit generally, remarked:—

"His ordinary paper-hangings, which have made his well-merited reputation, are absent from his present exhibition, and are replaced by imitation pictures. The International Jury, while rendering justice to the good execution of these imitations, regret the absence of paper-hangings properly so-called. The works exhibited by Messrs. Zuber are but an exceptional kind of decoration, and can neither replace paintings, of which they can be but feeble imitations, nor paper-hangings proper, in an ensemble of decoration, intelligent and well considered."

A similar point of view is expressed by Henri Clouzot, conservator of the Galliéra Museum in Paris, in his introduction to Nancy McClelland's "*Historic Wallpapers*," when he distinguishes between the interest of curiosity in these productions, and their merit as wallpapers:

"The manufacturers have succeeded—at the cost of what amazing efforts!—in imitating painting with wallpaper, with all its effects of light and shade, of colour and perspective. Dufour, Leroy, and Zuber, in spite of their masterpieces, fell into the error of Oudry, when he directed tapestry sixty years earlier towards a servile reproduction of painting. Painting is one thing; wallpaper is another. Even in grisaille, where the general tonality is a note of harmonious half-tones, scenic paper is apt to count too much in a room. It attracts interest when it should serve merely as an accompaniment."

collection of the most representative works of ornamental design to be made available for the improvement of the Schools of Design, invited four gentlemen, R. Redgrave, R.A.,* Augustus Welby Pugin, Owen Jones, and Henry Cole, of whom the first three had played an important part in the improvement of wallpaper design, to select suitable articles and report on the project.

Redgrave, indeed, had prepared during the progress of the Exhibition a Supplementary Report on Design which is rather illuminating. A Gothicism through and through, he saw no sense in attempts to render flowers and foliage "perspectively with the full force of their natural colours and light and shade," but was all for getting effects with as flat a result as possible. The Mediæval Court, where Pugin had taken his full share in decoration, won his high praise, though he admitted some people might object to "its too purely ecclesiastical and traditional character, even in domestic works," but he held that even if "a Tudor rose and heraldic lion are sometimes too pronounced, and there is occasionally a little excess of ornament, richness is generally obtained at the smallest sacrifice of means, and without any sacrifice of truth."

His observations on the English machine-printed papers are interesting. He admits the value of the process as giving a ready means of applying general colours at a small expense, but objects that the temptation has been to apply as many tints as possible to paper, "and excellence is reckoned by the number of colours than any other quality." "It is impossible, however," he concludes, "not to remark the skilful printing exhibited by our English manufacturers."

We reproduce from the Jury's Report a statement showing the extent of the paper-hanging industry of the world at the time of the Exhibition of 1851. The authors of the Report admit their indebtedness for the statement to M. Zuber, who is credited with having been at some pains in preparing it, though a reservation is made (presumably by John Gregory Crace, the English "Reporter") that "in regard to England the table understates the results." (One would suggest that the figures for the United States are overstated, as regards both block and machine

* A paper-hanging, designed by Redgrave, "expressly to hang pictures on," the printing being done by W. B. Simpson, was shown at the Society of Arts in the 1849 Exhibition at that place, and won the praise of the critics for its enlightened taste. It was a clever arrangement of the red-berried bryony, carried out—apart from the scarlet of the berries—in three tones of fawn and drab, sufficiently conventional to have the character of a well-balanced diaper. It was the antithesis of "vulgar tawdriness," as one critic said, and, as was intended, it played a properly subordinate but harmonious part in relation to pictures adorning it.

production. Seeing that the first wallpaper printing machine had not many years been introduced into the United States, it is hard to believe that the figure should not have been 4 instead of 40, especially in view of the number of workers.)

Country.	Tables.	Machines.	Workers.	No. of Pieces.	Value. £	Mean per Piece.
Great Britain	600	—	1,900	2,300,000	300,000	2/7
Great Britain	—	20	100	3,200,000	100,000	7d.
France ..	1,200	—	4,500	6,000,000	330,000	1/1
France ..	—	12	50	200,000	8,000	9½d.
Zollverein ..	300	6	1,200	1,600,000	80,000	1/-
Belgium ..	150	6	600	600,000	40,000	1/4
Holland ..	50	—	200	250,000	12,000	11d.
Switzerland	30	—	100	100,000	4,000	9d.
Austria ..	60	—	250	250,000	24,000	1/11
Piedmont ..	40	—	150	200,000	8,000	9½d.
Russia ..	100	—	400	500,000	60,000	2/4½
Denmark ..	30	—	100	100,000	8,000	1/7
Spain ..	100	—	400	400,000	28,000	1/5
U.S.A. ..	400	—	1,250	4,000,000	160,000	9½d.
U.S.A. ..	—	40	50	—	—	—
Total ..	3,060	84	11,250	19,700,000	1,162,000	—

The only Council Medal awarded for paper-hangings went to the great French house of Délicourt—Délicourt had been an assistant of Dufour, and, no doubt, inherited the tradition of that great producer—and their exhibit was such a *tour de force* that it is worth mentioning. It was a "tapestry" paper depicting a forest hunt, after a painting by Desportes, in the execution of which the astounding number of 12,000 blocks were used. Délicourt also showed "flock" papers in seventy shades.

The impulse the Exhibition gave to applied art of every kind in this country cannot be over-estimated. One gets from contemporary references the impression of a giant awakening from a spell of inertia, and for the first time feeling the full surge of a giant's strength. C. Wentworth Dilke's "Catalogue of Works having Reference to the Exhibition," printed for private circulation, is in itself an amazing record, giving details, and in some cases a brief synopsis, of over 700 publications, to which the Exhibition and the

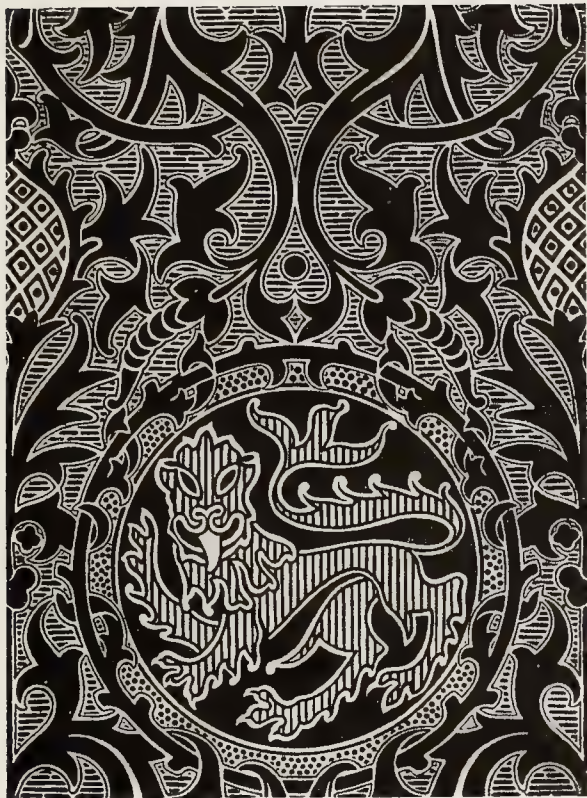
interest it aroused gave birth. They range from an ordinary octavo pamphlet to large-quarto, and even folio volumes, containing hundreds of illustrations, and dealing with the great project from almost every point of view. There were over a hundred in French and German (testifying to the importance attached to it by the two leading nations on the Continent), and several in Dutch, Spanish, Italian, and so on.

Such a wave of pride passed over all classes of the population that its results were quickly seen in a higher standard of craftsmanship. Things were, indeed, moving. The steps can almost be traced with exactitude. In the same decade, in 1856, to be precise, came Owen Jones' "Grammar of Ornament." *The Athenæum* described it as "beautiful enough to be the horn-book of angels." With this in his hands there was no excuse for either the busiest or the most unschooled designer to "mix" his styles, in addition to which it was a store-house of ideas suitable for application to any form of decoration. Jones himself, who had been designing paper-hangings for Townsend and Parker from 1840, confining his efforts to this house, began to work for other firms in addition. Characteristic papers are shown in Plates 95, 96, 97, 98, 116.

An even more striking example of his influence is seen in the beautiful Indian pilaster design, which James Huntington executed for Jeffrey and Co. (Plate 106). It was shown at the International Exhibition in 1862.

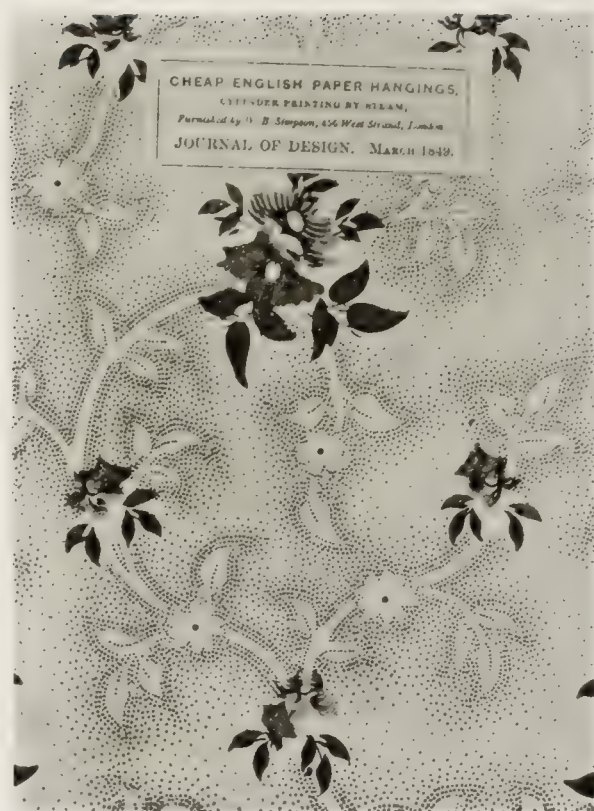
It is all the more interesting when compared with four other Huntington papers (Plates 102, 103, 104 and 105), representative of the strong French influence which was seen in much of his earlier work, due probably to his Paris training. Huntington was originally a designer for Paisley shawls and silk prints, and as far back as 1848 he had controlled a very successful engraving and print-cutting business in London. He was probably the first really commercial designer, and he was sufficiently versatile to be as happy in his development of Owen Jones' teaching as he was in the French subjects and styles.

He worked for most of the leading houses of the time until he joined Potter's, of Darwen, in 1864. From then onwards his outstanding talents were devoted rather to the commercial side of the business, and with the help of his two brothers, who were established in Paris as Huntington Frères, a very considerable export business was built up for Potter's papers.



83, 84, 85, 86. FOUR PUGIN DESIGNS FOR THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

The first notable movement in this country on anything like an effective scale towards a form of design particularly suitable for wallpaper, owed a great deal to the preaching and practice of Augustus Welby Pugin. Severely Gothic in character, and austere in expression as it was, it nevertheless prepared the soil for that flowering of English design which began in the middle of the last century, and was the real foundation of all modern development in applied art. The examples reproduced above are four of Pugin's designs for the Houses of Parliament, printed by Scott & Co., for John Gregory Crace, in 1848. Top left-hand: Heraldic pattern in red "flock"; top right-hand: a two-print red "flock" and gold on a cochineal ground; bottom left-hand: block print in blue on gold ground, with the national emblems of the United Kingdom ingeniously adapted to decorative purposes; bottom right-hand: another ingenious form of treatment of national emblems, a two-print in green "flocks," on a gold ground. Reductions, 83, 1-7; 84, 1-4; 85, 1-5; 86, 1-7.



87, 88. EARLY MACHINE-PRINTED PAPERS

It was natural that calico-printing effects should be associated with some of the early machine-printed wallpapers, seeing that the first machines were an adaptation of Bell's calico printing machine. In the two specimens reproduced above from the "Journal of Design and Manufacture" (March, 1849), the pin and ombré work is borrowed from the sister craft, and must have been produced from engraved rollers (as distinct from surface rollers). Left: a paper by C. H. & E. Potter, five surface colours on an engraved pin background of blue on green ground. Reduction, 1—3. Right: a paper by W. B. Simpson, with five colours, apparently crudely blocked in on a machine-printed ombré background in dark sepia on white. Reductions, 1—2.



89, 90. TWO CLEVER BLOCK-PRINTED PAPERS

The pin effects obtainable by means of engraved rollers were sometimes in the early days of machine-printing, combined with block-printing of an elaborate nature, as witness the specimen on the left, by William Woollams, from the "Journal of Design and Manufacture," for July, 1849, where a filigree pattern in brown on a cream-tinted paper serves as an agreeable background to a clever ivy-leaf design, printed from about nine blocks. The dark green is obtained by a shiny colour like lacquer, which adds greatly to the effect. Right: an effective two-print block, grey and white on a red ground, by Charles J. Gordon "Journal of Design and Manufacture," November, 1849. Both reductions, 1—2.



91. "FLOCK" AND GOLD

A red two-print "flock" design, combined with gold and fawn, on an embossed "satin" paper. By Hinchliff & Co. Reduction, 1—2. ("Journal of Design and Manufacture." June, 1849).



92. IMITATION GOTHIC TRACERY

A bold pattern (block-printed) in imitation of "flock," with crimson "fitting" background, and four tones of fawn or brown, by Robt. Horne, described in the "Journal of Design and Manufacture," for June, 1849, as a "cheap English paper-hanging for a library or dining-room." Reduction, 1—2.



93. "SATIN" DAMASK BLOCK PAPER

This paper, by Hinchliff & Co., is included among the specimens in the "Journal of Design and Manufacture," for August, 1851. The leaves are obtained by a "satin" white ground, on which a grey blotch is printed with the veins and ombré shading in yellow ochre. Reduction, 1—2.



94. A CHEAP MACHINE PAPER

This two-colour effect of dark blue and fawn on a whitey-buff pulp paper, manufactured by John Woollams & Co., no doubt represented one of the cheapest papers of the period, the quality of the paper being low though the effect achieved was pleasing. Reduction, 1—2. ("Journal of Design and Manufacture.")



95, 96, 97, 98. FOUR TYPICAL OWEN JONES DESIGNS

Following Pugin, the next marked influence in this country on applied art was that of Owen Jones, whose acquaintance with design of every country and every age culminated in his epoch-making "Grammar of Ornament." Jones himself designed a great many handsome wallpapers for some of the leading producers of the day. The four examples reproduced admirably illustrate the way in which he moulded Gothic forms to the service of domestic decoration. Top left-hand: a black "flock," on a cochineal ground, produced by Townsend & Parker, in 1850; top right-hand: a three-print block, also produced by Townsend & Parker in 1850; bottom: two designs produced by Jeffrey & Co., in 1862-3; left: five-print block, with gold illumination; right: three-print block. Reductions, 1—5.



99. PILASTER DECORATION SHOWN AT THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851

This and the two following Plates, reproduced from Digby Wyatt's "Arts of the XIX Century," give an idea of the standard of excellence attained by English producers at the time of the great International Exhibition of London in 1851. The specimen above was exhibited by Williams Woollams & Co. Some 70 blocks were used in the pilaster alone. Reduction, 1—20.



100. PILASTER DECORATION BY HINCHLIFF & CO.

Like Plates 99 and 101, this reproduction is of a hand-printed pilaster and filling, shown at the 1851 Exhibition. Reduction, 1—12.



101. PANEL, PILASTER, AND BORDER

The technical excellence of this exhibit by Townsend & Parker, at the 1851 Exhibition in Hyde Park, was greatly admired at a time when this type of decoration was at the height of its popularity.



102, 103. TWO HUNTINGTON DESIGNS SHOWING FRENCH INFLUENCE
These two designs by James Huntington illustrate that designer's gifts. They date from about 1860, and were produced while the influence of his sojourn in Paris was strong with him. Reductions, 1—5.



104, 105. TWO ORNATE SPECIMENS

Two more specimens of James Huntington's facility in designing for the prevalent taste in rococo, combined with naturalistic flowers. Date, about 1860. Reductions, 1-5.



106. A REMARKABLE HUNTINGTON PILASTER

It is difficult to believe that the pilaster illustrated above, which was shown by Jeffrey and Co. at the International Exhibition of 1862, was by the same artist who designed the four papers shown in the previous four Plates. It was done after he came under the influence of Owen Jones' "Grammar of Ornament," and it is a remarkable testimony to his versatility. Reduction, 1—15.



107. A MURILLO REPRODUCTION

This reproduction of Murillo's "Beggars" was issued, along with a companion, about 1843, by Jeffrey & Allen, and was included in the firm's collection at the great International Exhibition in London, in 1851. It was done in three tones of sepia, and is a wonderful example of technique in block-cutting and printing. It belongs, however, to a period of questionable taste. Reduction, 1—4 $\frac{1}{2}$.



108. A COMMEMORATIVE WALLPAPER

Machine-printed to commemorate the International Exhibition at Kensington in 1862. Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Attributed to Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith. A type of scenic or historical paper-hanging which, happily, gained little foothold in this country. Reduction, 1—10.

CHAPTER IX

THE COMING OF WILLIAM MORRIS

THE SUPREME CRAFTSMAN—EPOCH-MAKING WALLPAPERS—MORRIS' MESSAGE
TO HIS AGE—OWEN JONES AND OTHER GOTHICISTS—WALTER CRANE'S INFLUENCE
—WORTHY SUCCESSORS.

IT is in the nature of an ironical commentary by Fate that the second Great English Exhibition, at Kensington, in 1862, should see the advent of a new force whose influence on wallpaper design, as in all other branches of applied art, is universally admitted to have been the outstanding artistic feature of the last century. We refer to the fact that it was in 1862 that William Morris, who had already begun to breathe new life into Gothic art for furniture and textile fabrics, designed his first wallpapers. We say that it is Fate's ironical comment on how things happen, because Morris' old friend, F. S. Ellis, told the Society of Arts in 1898, how Morris, at the time a youth of 17, went to the Great Exhibition in 1851, sat down on a seat, and steadfastly refused to go over the building, declining to see anything more wonderful in this wonder of the world than that it was "wonderfully ugly." Nevertheless, as the late Lewis F. Day pointed out, though Morris never got over his prejudice against the "Great Fair," he "owed something, if not to that event, to the awakened interest in artistic production of which it was an outward visible sign."

William Morris is universally acknowledged to have had an influence on Western ideas of decorative art greater than that of any other individual. Part of that influence was, no doubt, due to the work of the group of artists who were his associates or his devotees, and who, especially during the latter part of his career, helped to spread the truth. But Morris was easily the outstanding personality in the movement which brought modern domestic ornamentation once more into living contact and kinship with pure art.

Part of the credit also is due to those who had blazed the trail. Carlyle and Ruskin he often spoke of as his "masters." "In Carlyle," as

Professor Mackail has pointed out, "he found the living sense of human history, and the indomitable heroic northern temper; in Ruskin, the re-discoverer of the great art of the Middle Ages, the passion for beauty, and the antagonism against wrong."

He also owed a great deal to Pugin and to Owen Jones. These had taught the "grammar" of design while Morris was yet a boy, and Jones was still alive and still teaching it. It was Morris who turned it into glorious literature, and, to use the graphic phrase of the late W. T. Stead, "began to stain his wallpapers with poetry."

No attempt is made here to present a comprehensive picture of this extraordinarily versatile and truly great man. That task has already been performed by several able biographers, and what follows is merely to enable his connection with wallpaper to be seen in proper perspective.

William Morris, who was of Welsh extraction, and was born at Clay Hill, Walthamstow, in 1834, the son of a bill-broker, received his early education at Marlborough, and went on to Oxford in 1852. Within a week of his entering the University, whither he had gone with the intention of taking Holy Orders, he met Edward Burne-Jones, who had gone up with the same intention, and with tastes and an outlook on life which were much the same as those of Morris. The two freshmen struck up an intimate friendship which lasted till they were separated by death.

A holiday spent in France whilst they were still undergraduates changed the current of their lives, for becoming more and more imbued with the glories of Gothic art, they both decided to give up all idea of entering the Church, and to devote themselves to making the world better worth living in by bringing more beauty into every-day life.

Burne-Jones left for London at Easter, 1856, and under the influence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, began his illustrious career as a painter; Morris followed soon after, and began by entering the office of George Edmund Street, the architect of the Law Courts, in the Strand. He, too, soon came under the influence of Rossetti, and after a year with Street came to the conclusion that he, too, would be a painter—and a poet as well.

His marriage in 1859 turned his energies into another channel, and though he had a literary and a social message for his generation which would have made any man memorable, it is as the supreme craftsman

of his age that he will best be remembered. Calling in the services of many of his friends to help him in designing and producing the furniture and decorations of his home in a manner satisfactory to his artistic mind, the idea grew that the time was ripe to resuscitate in this country the "lesser arts" of decoration in all its branches as akin to the fine arts. So, under the title of "Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Company, Fine Art Workmen," a public company was registered in 1861, which was destined to achieve great things.

Besides Morris, the firm consisted of Ford Madox Brown, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, and Arthur Hughes, painters; Philip Webb, architect; Peter Paul Marshall, district surveyor at Tottenham; and Charles Joseph Faulkner, Oxford don. Morris was the dominating personality, and very quickly became sole manager.

At first they were looked on as harmless amateurs, but their exhibit at the London Exhibition in 1862, though it had to face not only a frigid official report, but a good deal of deliberate calumny from certain quarters, was too unmistakably a sign that a new force had come into being.

Commercial success beyond the dreams of the founders followed, and the firm quickly expanded in size and range.

EPOCH-MAKING WALLPAPERS

Curiously enough, paper-hangings were one of the very few articles of which Morris did not thoroughly master the technique. Similar difficulties in the production of stained glass and chintzes he ultimately overcame, and, apparently, he had no trouble with painted tiles, cabinet-work, embroidery, tapestry, or woven fabrics. But after his first unsuccessful attempt to produce wallpapers, these were handed over to be printed by Jeffrey & Co., of which firm Metford Warner has been the distinguished head for well over half-a-century. It is a tribute to this firm that the sixty or more wallpapers which Morris designed, and which were coloured and printed under his instructions, were all entrusted to it. This continued to be the case when the "Brotherhood" firm passed into the sole ownership of William Morris as Morris & Company, *tout court*, and, indeed, the Morris papers still continue to be printed for Morris & Company, by Jeffrey & Co.

It was in 1862 that Morris designed the well-known "Trellis" paper (Plate 109). The pattern consisted of a trellis, from which it gets

its name, with intertwining roses and brown (or blue) birds among the branches. Morris got his friend Philip Webb to design the birds. But though this was the first designed it was not the first produced. Attempts to print it in oil colours from etched zinc plates proved tedious and unsatisfactory, so the design was re-cut on pear tree blocks by Barrett, of Bethnal Green, under the personal supervision of Morris, and the manufacture transferred, as stated, to Jeffrey & Co.

Meanwhile, other papers had been designed and printed from wooden blocks, and so it happened that the "Trellis" was third in order of production. The "Daisy" paper (Plate 110), was actually the first published and placed on the market. Morris later produced many wallpapers which showed his mastery of design in more striking fashion, but there is an artlessness about his "Daisy" that has never ceased to charm, and it is not surprising to learn that in all the sixty odd years that have gone by since it was produced, it has continued to be the most sought-after of all his papers. The rhythm of the pattern, albeit dealing in a conventional manner with simple and well-known plant forms, combined with the delicacy of the tints in which it was carried out, was indeed the beginning of a new era in wallpaper design.

The first series of Morris' wallpapers culminated in the beautiful pattern known as the "Pomegranate" (Plate 111). Professor Mackail probably said the last word in regard to it when, in his "Life of William Morris," he remarked: "Beyond it, that manner of decorating could not go."

When Morris resumed paper designing, he abandoned the innocence of these formal early designs, and struck out a much larger and more mature scheme of pattern. The "Acanthus" (Plate 112) shows Morris in his most magnificent manner. The gusto with which the classical foliage is given life and richness by the sweep of its lines was a revelation. Simple though the colour-scheme appears to be, it is the simplicity that is only achieved by art at its highest expression; so subtle are its effects that it requires a double set of blocks and no fewer than thirty-two printings.

The crimson and gold "St. James" (Plate 113), one of Morris' most magnificent papers, was designed for the Throne Room and the Wellington Room at St. James' Palace in 1881. By way of exception to his almost invariable practice of employing in a scheme of decoration only his own

patterns, he there also made use of two of Jeffrey & Co.'s embossed leather papers—Walter Crane's "Peacocks and Amorini" (Plate 124) in the Entrance Hall, and B. J. Talbert's "Cupid," on the Queen's Staircase. His choice of these designs was all the more singular, as amorini were not much in Morris's way.

The "Willow Boughs" (Plate 114) is a slightly more naturalistic design than an earlier "Willow," which it otherwise resembles. Both are closely covered papers, suitable for practically any room, and very restful in effect. The colourings are mostly green, on a white or bluish ground. They have also been printed in yellow.

With reference to wallpaper designing, Morris himself wrote :

" I think the real way to deal successfully with designing for paper-hangings is to accept their mechanical nature frankly, to avoid falling into the trap of trying to make your paper look as if it were painted by hand. Here is the place, if anywhere, for dots and lines and hatchings ; mechanical enrichment is of the first necessity in it. After that, you may be as intricate and elaborate in your pattern as you please ; nay, the more and the more mysteriously you interweave your sprays and stems the better for your purpose, as the whole thing has to be pasted flat on a wall, and the cost of all this intricacy will but come out of your own brain and hand. For the rest, the fact that in this art we are so little helped by beautiful and varying material imposes on us the necessity for being specially thoughtful in our designs ; every one of them must have a distinct idea in it ; some beautiful piece of nature must have pressed itself on our notice so forcibly that we are quite full of it, and can, by submitting ourselves to the rules of art, express our pleasure to others, and give them some of the keen delight that we ourselves have felt."

And again :

" Everyone who has practised the designing of patterns knows the necessity for covering the ground equably and richly. This is really to a great extent the secret of obtaining the look of satisfying mystery aforesaid (to fill the eye and satisfy the mind), and it is the very test of capacity in a designer. Finally, no amount of delicacy is too great in drawing the curves of a pattern, no amount of care in getting the lines right from the first can be thrown away, for beauty of detail cannot afterwards cure any shortcoming in this. . . . No pattern should be without some sort of meaning. True it is that that meaning may have come down to us traditionally, and not be our own invention, yet we must at heart understand it, or we can neither receive it nor hand it down to our successors. It is no longer tradition if it is servilely copied, without change, the token of life."

MORRIS' MESSAGE TO HIS AGE

Fortunately, Morris was big enough both as a man and as an artist to live up to these high ideals. He was also sufficiently well-to-do to be able to indulge his enthusiasm for the crafts even if it had not brought the commercial success which it did. It is possible that the object-lesson which he presented to a Philistine age, that applied art is actually worth while, had as much to do with his influence on public taste as the persistence with which he preached the dignity of the "lesser arts of life." He himself could never sever the so-called great arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, from the so-called lesser decorative arts. Like Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci, he thought it an artist's as well as a man's job to give time and labour to making domestic surroundings as beautiful as he could, and he never tired of speaking for "that great body of art by means of which men have at all times more or less striven to beautify the familiar matters of everyday life." For him art was a means to make life happier, and it was to help on his gospel of happiness for all, that he became a Socialist. As he expressed his ideal, it was for "an art made by the people and for the people, as a happiness to the maker and the user."

"Beauty mingled with invention, founded on the observation of Nature, is the mainspring of decorative design," was one of Morris' *dicta*. "If it is not beautiful it has no right to exist; if it is not invention it becomes wearisome; if it is not founded on observation it can hardly be either beautiful or inventive. It is apt to become merely strange and monstrous when it departs far from Nature."

Morris had ideas as to the purpose of design in wallpaper which at times seemed didactic. Mere pattern was not enough; and if at times he could not prevent the poet from rhapsodising when the practical designer should have been content to deliver a more pedestrian homily, well, it must have been good to be carried off one's feet by his eloquence. Hear him:

"Is it not better to be reminded, however simply, of the close vine trellis that keeps out the sun by the Nile side, or of the wild woods and their streams, with the dogs panting beside them; or of the swallows sweeping above the garden boughs towards the house eaves where their nestlings are, while the sun breaks the clouds on them; or of the many-flowered summer meadows of Picardy?"

No wonder he revelled in colour, as bright and full and as pure and clear as he could get it. All his colours, however, had to be vegetable colours—he was “down” on synthetic colours; none of your “chemical” dyes for him, though possibly he would have overcome his antipathy to them in these days, when their range includes every possible shade and hue. It is true he often kept his wallpapers pale in tone, preferring to use the richer and deeper colours for more expensive materials, but he brought into service all colours except those that were “dingy and muddy,” which he held was a fault less likely to be curable than that of over-vividness. “Do not fall into the trap of a dingy, bilious-looking yellowy-green, a colour to which I have a special and personal hatred, because I have been supposed to have somewhat brought it into vogue. I assure you I am not really responsible for it.”

He had his fads in other directions, and one was that all the wallpapers of his own designing were executed by hand. The machine-printed Morris papers, though designed in his studio, were in no case from his own designs.

No one has analysed Morris’ style better than the late Lewis F. Day, who was to play an important part, both in Morris’ lifetime and afterwards, in continuing his work. Writing in the *Contemporary Review*, for June, 1903, nearly seven years after Morris’ death, he said:

“The art of William Morris was essentially ornamental. All real art, he said, was ornamental. His impulse was towards floral ornament—a sort of gardening in design. Pattern merely breaking the surface—fulfilling, in fact, the humble function of a background—had so little attraction for him that it is not to be wondered at that his designs claim sometimes more attention than a wallpaper, for example, has any right to demand.

“He was largely responsible for the re-introduction into modern ornament of natural forms, which Owen Jones and the reformers before him had been at pains to suppress. He did not ask so much that ornament should be like nature, as that it should lead one’s thoughts out-of-doors.

“His treatment of Nature was influenced at first by Gothic, and later more by Persian precedent; and yet from first to last the design and detail of his ornament were, in the result, his own. He tried to get always in surface designs a look of satisfactory mystery, but he went the simplest way about it, constructing his pattern upon the most obvious lines, and taking no pains to disguise them.

“He disdained, for example, the expedient of making a pattern repeat upon any but the simplest and most elementary lines, and never

went out of his way to invent cunning or ingenious plots ; rather he trusted to the incident in his pattern, and the way it fitted in, to give it interest. The mechanism of his pattern was, as far as it went, perfect, though he felt (and acknowledged) the 'embarrassment' as he called it, of designing within the restrictions imposed by a machine of any kind."

In the beginning Morris' designs were in advance of public taste. They were rather the cult of a comparatively select circle, and were "caviare to the general." But surely and steadily the full meaning of Morris' ideas spread, and from that time the battle of art *versus* mechanism was won in this country. Wallpaper ceased to be just a cheaper substitute for something else, and took its place as a wall covering on its own merits. England regained her position as leader in the applied arts, and not least in regard to paper-hangings. The French were finding that the development of artistic merit was in reverse ratio to progress in technical methods, and they still stuck to their designs borrowed from the Louis and the Empire periods. Indeed, so late as January, 1913, a writer in *Le Papier Peint* could say, speaking of French production : "Bad taste knew no bounds until 1890, when, under the impulse from England, a fortunate reaction was felt in favour of simplicity in decorative papers." The Germans, in particular, have freely paid tribute to what Morris meant to the whole European art through his message and inspiration. One critic said : "We owe it to him that nowadays simple middle-class houses have walls more beautifully decorated almost than those of Kings' palaces used to be"; while Gustav E. Pazaurek, in *Die Tapete*, contrasts the achievements of Morris, Crane, Voysey, and others after they began to use conventionalised floral forms with the stagnation of the French.

OWEN JONES AND OTHER GOTHICISTS

Looking back on Morris' career, one realises that though some of those who came after him have shown greater flexibility of decorative design, they could not have succeeded but for the magnitude of the master's aims and achievements. All could now get the seed, but the harvest was helped by several circumstances. One was that the best manufacturers were resorting more and more to designers of outstanding merit, and were no longer content to rely on the artistic ideas of the men who cut the blocks. Another was that not only was the spade-work done by Ruskin, Pugin, Redgrave, Wornum, Owen Jones, and the other early Gothicists

beginning to show results, but others were joining in the crusade. The last defences of mid-Victorian banality were being broken down on all hands.

It would be easy to concentrate on Morris' work and achievements to the neglect of others who bore a brave lance in the fight. Pugin was dead, but Owen Jones, who had also been one of the pioneers in the Gothic revival, and was born three years before Pugin, had yet to produce many of his most important wallpaper designs.

Like Pugin and others of the early designers, he was an architect, having been a pupil of L. Vulliamy, and studied for some time at the Royal Academy. Visits to most of the capitals on the Continent, and to the ancient cities of Egypt and the Levant, gave him an unrivalled knowledge of design, and his "*Grammar of Ornament*,"* published in 1856, to which reference has already been made, had a tremendous influence in clarifying the prevailing taste of the period in regard to all forms of decoration.

It was while he was designing for Jackson & Graham, an old-established house of large repute, shortly before 1865, that he completed a remarkable scheme of decoration for the Viceroy's Palace at Cairo, the most elaborate set of designs ever made expressly for one building. The scheme provided for paper-hangings for walls, ceilings, dados, and borders, based on Persian ornament, in colourings of blue, red, yellow, gold and white. These wallpapers were printed by Jeffrey & Co., for whom, as for other leading wallpaper houses such as William Woollams, and Townsend & Parker, Owen Jones also designed. His designs all bore his monogram on the back.

It was, in fact, chiefly with the idea of showing that English paper-stainers were no longer under French influence that Jeffrey & Co. made their chief exhibit at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 a pilaster decoration by Owen Jones (see Plate 116). It included in addition Crane's "*Peacocks and Amorini*" (Plate 124) in embossed leather paper, which Morris afterwards used at St. James' Palace in conjunction with his own "*St. James'*" design and Bruce Talbert's "*Cupid*." The Jeffrey exhibit at Paris was awarded the gold medal.

This same year, 1867, saw the publication of another outstanding declaration of the faith that actuated the band of British designers who were being more

* In the production of the "*Grammar of Ornament*," Jones was assisted by J. B. Waring, J. O. Westwood, Digby Wyatt, and C. Dresser.

and more employed by firms like Gillow & Co., Jackson & Graham, Jeffrey & Co., Scott, Cuthbertson & Co. This was Bruce J. Talbert's "Gothic Forms."

Talbert was a Scotsman who, like the others, had originally been intended for an architect—indeed, he dedicated his "Gothic Forms" to George Edmund Street—but he took up designing and created a marked change in style of both furniture and decoration. His "Sunflower" design (Plate 118) which Jeffrey & Co. originally reproduced in "flock" and which won the gold medal at Paris, was almost epoch-making. It set a fashion which was extensively copied by many machine-printers, and was probably the innocent origin of the foolish craze of æstheticism which Gilbert satirised in "Patience." Talbert himself was much too robust to be associated with the sentimentalism that cheapened both the sunflower and the lily as decorative motives—"Old English," in fact, was the name sometimes applied to his work—but while fundamentally Gothic, his designs showed less formalism than Morris', and many of them, in fact, were influenced by Japanese art, a style for which Morris had "no use."

Talbert designed in 1877 a fruit motive as a frieze for Jeffrey & Co., which shows to perfection the characteristic Gothic convention of his style, with subsequent enrichment. His death, in 1881, deprived English design of a vigorous and original personality, whose influence in the direction of freedom and flexibility can scarcely be over-estimated.

Prominent among others who made their mark at this time was Dr. Christopher Dresser, who was a scientist as well as an artist. Born at Glasgow, in 1834, of Yorkshire parentage, and educated in boyhood at Bandon (Cork), he later moved to London, and at fifteen gained a scholarship at the School of Design. He had a strong leaning to botany, wrote several textbooks, and became a lecturer on the subject at the Department of Science and Art, also in the London and St. Mary's Hospital Schools. It was, therefore, not surprising he should specialise in botanical forms in design, nor that he was inclined to dissect his plants and work the parts into a pattern rather than take a plant's essential characteristics in its habit as it grows. At the same time he had catholicity of taste, and an acquaintance with art movements all over the world—he travelled in many parts of the Continent, as well as in America and Japan—which enabled him to contribute to the growth of public taste, both through

his writings on art and his designs. His colour sense was highly developed, and he was fond of expressing himself in strong tones, which he harmonised with wonderful skill. His "The Art of Decorative Design" was published in 1862, and later he published other works dealing with general artistic principles as well as with Japanese architectural art and art manufactures.

Another early contemporary of Morris,' who helped to change public taste partly by example, but more by precept, was Charles L. Eastlake, who, in his: "Hints on Household Taste in Furniture and Upholstery and other Details," the first edition of which was published in 1868, had many severe things to say of the British public and British manufactures:—

While acknowledging the good work that had been done since Pugin, by houses like Woollams and Crace, he did not spare the Philistines:—

"The British public are, as a body, utterly incapable of distinguishing good from bad designs to investigate into principles . . . but let customers once become accustomed to the sight of good forms and judicious combinations of colours and we may one day aspire to the formation of a national taste. To attain this note, however, the manufacturers (if any are to be found so disinterested) must first inform themselves of the best sources from which good designs may be obtained, because at present they seem to be derived from the very worst."

By the time the fourth edition was published in 1878, containing his own "Solanum" pattern (see Plate 115), which he designed for Jeffrey & Co. in 1868 (with a second edition in 1872), Eastlake could write in much more complaisant fashion, as he was entitled to do considering the share he had had in bringing about the change:*

"About the time that the famous 'Battle of Prague' became a favourite exercise with youthful pianists . . . the worst style of art which this country has ever seen prevailed throughout the whole field of design. But of all the ugly fashions of that day, by far the most contemptible was that of paper-hangings. Sometimes, in tearing down the paper from old walls where it has been allowed to accumulate, the workmen, after removing two or three layers of paste, etc., will come upon a curious specimen of mural decoration, which embodies in its pattern sometimes a suggestion of landscape, sometimes a bit of ornamental gardening in impossible perspective; sometimes a group

* The Paris Exhibition of 1878, gave English designers and producers the opportunity of showing how far they had advanced beyond the French traditional style. The English exhibits included work by Walter Crane and Lewis F. Day; Scott Morton's "Tynecastle," embossed canvas; Woollam's embossed and raised "flock," and Jeffrey & Co.'s embossed leather papers and lacquer effects in leaf metal grounded papers—a splendid assortment, which greatly impressed every visitor to the Exhibition.

of foreign birds, repeated at regular intervals, but often a curious combination of these diverse elements of design, mixed up with huge flowers and creeping plants, meandering over the whole surface of the wall."

Though the "Solanum" marked a distinct development in form of design, Eastlake's influence was rather that of an expounder than an artist. A Queen's Scholar at Westminster in 1846, and a nephew of Sir Charles Eastlake, who was President of the Royal Academy, he had been an architectural pupil, who, besides his training in the Royal Academy schools, had spent some few years of early manhood in studying art abroad. On his return to this country he soon made himself a reputation as a writer and authority of art, and after being Secretary of the Royal Institute of British Architects for eleven years, he was in 1878 appointed Keeper and Secretary of the National Gallery.

Another artist-architect who was commissioned by Jeffrey & Co., was Edward William Godwin (1835-1886), who had inherited a leaning towards applied art from the circumstance that his father was a decorator in Bristol. An extremely versatile man, Godwin wrote, lectured, designed theatrical costumes and scenery, and domestic furnishings generally.

His "Sparrows and Bamboo" (Plate 117), produced by Jeffrey & Co. in 1872, showed a note of Oriental liveliness that was new, and in its way it, too, marked a distinct development in design. It was exhibited at the Albert Hall, Kensington, in 1873, with wallpapers designed by Owen Jones and William Burges—the first acknowledgment in this country of wallpaper as a work of art. Another Godwin paper showing great originality is "The Peacock" (Plate 123), done by Jeffrey & Co., in 1873.

William Burges, referred to in the previous paragraph, who did good work in design for Jeffrey & Co., was yet another well-known architect, born in 1827, who had been a pupil of Edward Blore, and later entered the office of Digby Wyatt. A mediævalist, but a mediævalist with enthusiasm, he left his mark on the art of his period, chiefly in ecclesiastic architecture. In 1859 he designed the Cathedral of Brisbane and rebuilt the east end of Waltham Abbey Church; in 1862 he prepared designs for Cork Cathedral, the most important commission he carried out. His house in Kilburn Road, Holland Park, London, was transformed by him into a model residence of the 15th century. His versatility is attested by a set of remarkable designs which he prepared for the new Law Courts,

in the Strand, and for the decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, which, however, were not officially accepted. Besides his wallpaper designs, which were expressly drawn for Jeffrey & Co., he tried his hand at jewellery, furniture and other objects of art, which were executed under his personal superintendence. A few months before his death in 1881, he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy.

WALTER CRANE'S INFLUENCE

It will probably be less confusing to readers if, while we are dealing with the artistic revival in the third quarter of the last century, we continue to touch on some of the chief personal influences traceable in the development of wallpaper design in modern times. After Morris, the name best known not only in this country but abroad is that of Walter Crane, who was born in Liverpool in 1854, son of a Chester portrait painter, and grandson of a local bookseller, who became editor of the very old-established *Chester Courant*.

Walter Crane had shown remarkable artistic promise as a boy, and he was only thirteen when he was sent up to London and apprenticed to W. J. Linton, to learn engraving on wood. Before he was out of his teens he was doing notable work in book illustration, particularly with children's books, and it was, therefore, not surprising when in 1875 he was introduced by B. J. Talbert to Jeffrey & Co., and induced to design a wallpaper for them, that it was a nursery paper which he produced. It became known as "Sing a Song of Sixpence" (Plate 180), though it also contained the picture stories of the Queen of Hearts, Little Boy Blue, and Bo-Peep, arranged in three vertical divisions and machine-printed from rollers.

Metford Warner then induced him to design a more ambitious paper for reproduction by hand. This proved to be his "Margarete"* (Plate 129), which was an exceedingly dainty design on a light blue (or fawn) ground of semi-conventional marguerites, surrounded by ornamental garlands of small marguerites, blossom and leaves. It could be used either by itself, or as filling between the "Alcestis" frieze (shown in the illustration) and the "Lilies and Dove" dado. The frieze, as will be seen, carried the naturalistic treatment of the human figure as applied to wall decoration to the utmost degree. It is formed by six caryatids in

* The earliest version of this design, it is worth noting, had the motto introduced: *Si douce est la Margarete*.

classical costume, each in different pose, and so rhythmically arranged that the character of the pattern is never lost. This paper was exhibited at Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876, and gained a medal for its "great excellence and chastity of design, connected with exceedingly harmonious colouring."

A long series of designs for wallpaper followed from his brush, extending into the early years of the present century. P. G. Konody, in his "Art of Walter Crane," has pointed out that, while to a certain extent he followed William Morris' precepts, "he has 'interwoven his sprigs and stems,' and more than that, his figures of peacocks and cockatoos and lions, in patterns of amazing richness, but he has in most cases known how to counteract this whirl of line by the most soothing and restful combinations of colour. If we except the 'Cockatoo and Pomegranate' and some few other designs of less importance, it will be found that one decided local colour predominates in every design, and that all other colours are carefully chosen, not only to harmonise with this local colour, but to have, as nearly as possible, the same value, so that strong contrasts of colour are avoided."

Crane's designs showed considerable development as time went on. As he himself said: "A comparison of the later designs with the early one shows the use of a more flowing character of line in the general structure of the pattern, and richer and more redundant detail for the most part, although this is sometimes a matter controlled by the requirements of particular papers, simple or sumptuous. On the whole, one is inclined to return to comparatively simple motives in pattern and colour as more in keeping with the character and purpose of the material and the method of production, but one cannot resist the natural tendency, in the practice of any art, towards growth and evolution—as it were, an almost unconscious impulse leading one on in the working out of certain ideas of form and line, as if design were, after all, bound to obey the laws of the natural world, in the forms which it sometimes adopts."

Crane's facile handling of gorgeous birds such as the peacock, the pheasant, and the cockatoo, as decorative motives, has never been excelled. Other typical examples of his art are to be seen in Plate 124, "Peacocks and Amorini," shown at the Paris Exhibition in 1878; Plate 130, "Wood-Notes" (1886); Plate 131, "Peacock Garden" (1889); Plate 153, "Orange Tree" (1900); Plate 159, "Macaw." His influence on design continued right up to his death in 1915.

WORTHY SUCCESSORS

Born in the same year as Walter Crane, Lewis Foreman Day left on the craft of wallpaper a scarcely less marked impression. Apprenticed originally to Lavers & Barraud, glass painters, after a couple of years in France and a year in Germany as a finishing course, he soon set up as a decorator on his own account, covering the whole field of applied art. He probably had a greater technical knowledge of design in all its branches than any man of his day. Stained glass, tiles, wallpapers, wood work, embroidery, chintzes and cretonnes, all claimed his attention, and he had a reputation in each branch. His aptitude at "patterning" amounted almost to genius. It is doubtful if he ever drew a design that did not "repeat" perfectly. Typical wallpaper designs illustrating his powers at their highest are seen in Plates 134, 135, 139, 154, and 225, all executed by Jeffrey & Co. They are marked by boldness of form that only an artist of the highest powers could produce. Not even by Morris has the "Acanthus" been treated in so regal a manner as is seen in Plate 134.

Lewis Day was almost as well known as a writer and lecturer on art subjects as a designer. It was at his house that not only was the Art Workers' Guild established in 1884, but that the Art and Crafts movement was founded some four years later. His death took place in 1910.

Of the older men who, while not quite in the front rank for achievement, nevertheless played their part in maintaining the high level of English wallpaper production, Owen William Davis was not the least versatile. Born in 1838, the son of a Barnstaple master-painter, he served his time with a local architect, but went up to London in his early twenties, and became associated with the Gothic revival; he was for a while manager in the office of Digby Wyatt. He was a most versatile designer, with an enormous capacity for work, and his bias towards the older classic schools—Italian, Renaissance, Pompeian, as well as Jacobean,—was of great service in broadening modern taste. His principal work was done for Jeffrey & Co., Woollams & Co., and (in relief subjects) the Anaglypta Co. A typical Owen Davis dado frieze and filling is seen in the "King's College," shown in Plate 185, executed by Woollams in 1890. Plate 246 is also a very representative specimen of his work in relief materials.

Another of the most appreciated designers of the period was Andrew Fingar Brophy, a native of Limerick, who, beginning as a teacher of mechanical drawing—he worked at the joiner's bench in his early days in order to master the methods of building construction—eventually became known as the best man of his day both at damask and at Adam styles modernised (see Plate 149), with wonderful flowing lines drawn from the shoulder.

A typical Brophy frieze and filling is seen in Plate 141, executed for John Stather & Sons, of Hull. Other wallpaper houses for whom Brophy worked were Jeffrey & Co., Zuber & Co., Jas. Toleman & Sons, Scott, Cuthbertson & Co., William Woollams & Co., Corbière, Sons & Brindle, Chas. Knowles & Co., and Arthur Sanderson & Sons. In 1882 he was appointed Master of the City of London Guilds Technical Institute, and was Examiner in the National Science and Art competitions at South Kensington. He was also an architect of note. He died in 1912.

It is singular that all the best designs during the early years of the period we have been speaking of emanated from men who either practised with distinction as architects, or had originally been trained as architects. One of the lesser lights who was always a most acceptable worker, and who was one of the most perfect draughtsmen of leaves that ever lived, was John Dando Sedding, who was born in 1838, was one of G. E. Street's pupils, and died in 1891.

It was later when the decorative artist, pure and simple, came on the scene—men like Sidney Haward, who, after assisting his father and brother in their business of cabinet makers and furnishers at Darlington, went to London in 1882, to find more scope for his talents (example in Plate 166). In London he entered the studio of the late Arthur Silver, himself a great conventionaliser of flower and plant subjects (see Plates 140, 142, 143, and 144), and there found the practical training he needed, and became Silver's chief assistant. In 1892 he founded a studio of his own, from which emanated a steady stream of sound contributions to wallpaper design, original, yet free from extremes.

Another notable decorative artist, especially in drawings for raised material, was George Charles Haité, eldest son of George Haité, a well-known pattern designer of the mid-19th century period. In designing, G. C. Haité had a distinctive style, making full use of line, combined with simplicity and grace. He was one of the first industrial designers to draw

on Japanese inspiration for his subjects, which, however, he adapted in a purely Western spirit (see Plates 253 and 254). His work had a fine characteristic in its lasting power to please, a proof of how completely he grasped the essentials of the ultimate use to which his work would be applied. Haité was also an excellent landscape painter, with more than a national reputation.

Many other famous names can be cited of well-known artists who, some occasionally and some more frequently, have lent their talents to the industry—among them Cecil Aldin (Plates 216 and 219), Mabel Lucie Attwell (Plate 214), Lindsay P. Butterfield, W. S. Coleman, James Gibbons, Kate Greenaway (Plate 182), Arthur L. Gwatkin (Plates 173, 193 and 194), John Hassall, T. W. Hay, Jessie M. King, S. G. Mawson (Plate 151), W. J. Muckley, H. Napper (Plates 209 and 210), W. J. Neatby, Will Owen (Plate 213), Edgar L. Pattison, Graham Rice (Plates 196 and 203), T. Scaratt Rigby, George Rigby (Plates 223 and 224), T. F. Sharp, T. R. Spence (Plate 201), Heywood Sumner, James Thomas (Plate 163), John Thomas, W. G. Paulson Townsend, William Turner, A. F. Vigers, Harrison Weir (Plate 122),¹ Arthur Willcock, Henry Wilson, Lawson Wood (Plate 215).

As many of these are still in harness, it would be invidious to do more than mention them by name. An exception, however, must be made in the case of two workers whose influence is outstanding. One is that still vigorous veteran, Charles Francis Annesley Voysey, a son of the Rev. Charles Voysey, vicar of Healaugh, Yorkshire, for nine years and founder of the Theistic Church, and a descendant of the Wesley family.

He was born at Kingston College, Hull, in 1857, and started private practice as an architect nearly half-a-century ago. He has not only built well over a hundred private houses in various parts of England, Ireland, Egypt and America; he has designed war memorials, metal work, carpets, curtains, furniture, wallpapers of every kind, has exhibited in the Royal Academy, both in the Architectural Room and the Sculpture Gallery on many occasions; has lectured and written on art subjects, and has always had something interesting to say whether in an artistic or a literary sense. His most notable wallpaper designs have been produced by Essex and Co., with whom his name was closely identified over a series of years. His first design, however, was bought by Jeffrey & Co., about 1882, and other firms who have produced his work have been Sanderson & Sons, Heffer, Scott & Co., Lightbown, Aspinall & Co., and others.

Voysey has been particularly successful in exploiting bird motives in his designs. His treatment of flower forms, whether conventionalised or naturalistic, is also marked by a grace and distinction that are exceedingly winning. Typical examples of his work are seen in Plates 145, 146, 147 and 148.

One can confidently close this survey of artistic achievement with a reference to Shand Kydd, whose contribution to the fame and reputation of English paper-hangings is a matter in which everyone connected with the industry takes a pride. Shand Kydd had some experience in the decorative business in Edinboro' in his early years, and on going to London in 1881, was engaged for some time with the well-known house of Hayward & Son, who specialised in hand-made friezes and block-printed fillings. When he set up as a decorative artist on his own account he quickly made his name with a series of fillings designed with a boldness of effect and harmony of colour, which hitherto had been almost entirely confined to friezes. The productions of the house of Shand Kydd, which was established in Marylebone Road in 1891, and later moved to larger premises in Highgate Road, bear the stamp of the founder, not only in their supreme mastery of colour, but also in their technical excellence, a remark which applies alike to machine-printed, block-printed or stencilled papers.



109, 110. THE EARLIEST MORRIS PAPERS

In view of the impulse which William Morris gave to design of every kind in this and every other country, it is gratifying to be able to reproduce in facsimile colour in this and the succeeding Plates (by permission of Morris & Co., Ltd.) six notable Morris papers. Left: "The Trellis," the first paper designed by Morris (birds by his friend, Philip Webb). Though the first in order of design, it was, as explained in page 162, the third in order of production. Right: "The Daisy," the first Morris paper actually put on the market, and ever since a "best-seller" of the Morris papers. Date, 1862. Reductions, 1—10.



III. THE "FRUIT" OR "POMEGRANATE"

Designed by Morris in 1870, a paper in which his first (and simpler) period culminated.
Reduction, 1—10.



II2. THE "ACANTHUS"

Designed about 1870, and showing Morris's mastery of intricate form and line.
Reduction, 1—10.



113. THE "ST. JAMES"

A paper designed by William Morris for St. James's Palace, London, in 1881, requiring two breadths of paper to show the complete "repeat." Reduction, 1—7.



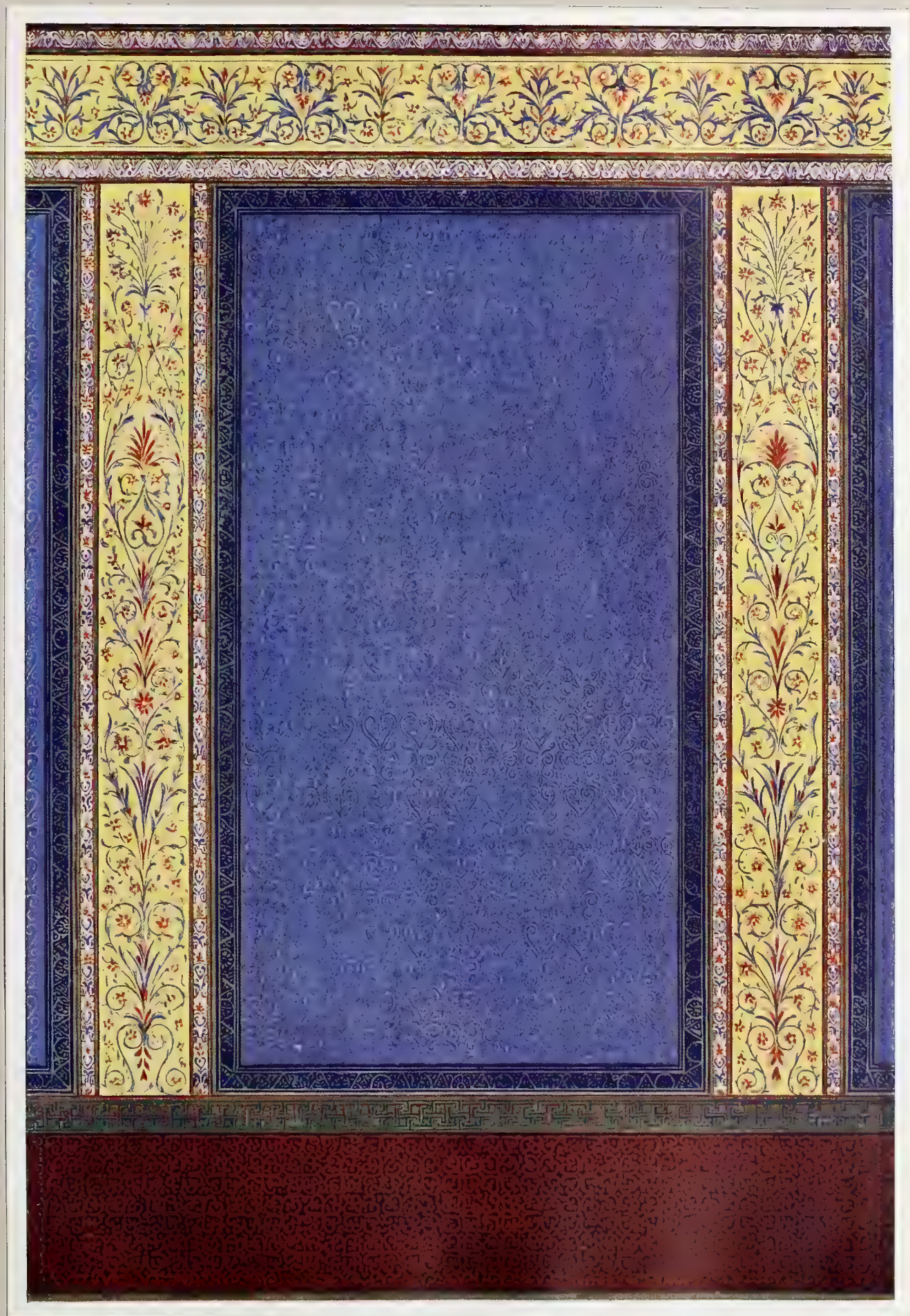
114. THE "WILLOW BOUGHS"

An effective example of the rhythm of Morris's later period, illustrating the "satisfying mystery" with which he loved to weave his sprigs and stems. Reduction, 1—10.



115. THE "SOLANUM"

This eight-print block paper, designed by Charles L. Eastlake for Jeffrey & Co. in 1869—a rare effort, for Eastlake preferred to influence his generation by his pen rather than his brush—was the first notable break-away from the prevailing formalism. Reduction, 1—10.



116. OWEN JONES' EXHIBITION PILASTER

This elaborate pilaster decoration by Owen Jones was the chief item in Jeffrey & Allen's exhibit at the International Exhibition in Paris, in 1867. Reduction, 1—12.



117. E. W. GODWIN'S "SPARROWS AND BAMBOO"

This dainty design by E. W. Godwin, block-printed by Jeffrey & Co., in 1872, with its Oriental touch of gaiety and its freedom from tradition, like Eastlake's "Solanum," struck a new note in decorative art. Reduction, 1—5.



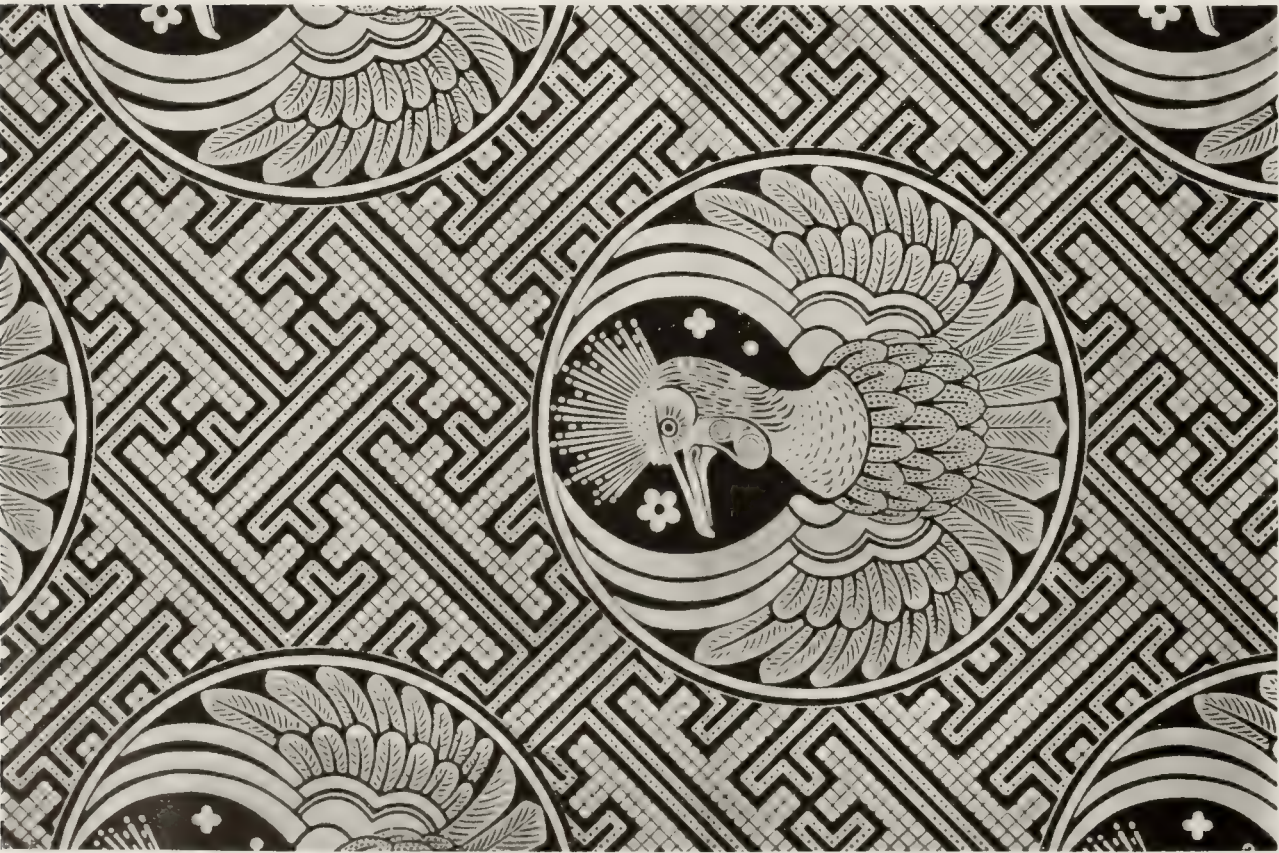
118. BRUCE TALBERT'S "SUNFLOWER"

The sunflower *motif* used so skilfully in this design by B. J. Talbert—included in Jeffrey & Co.'s exhibit, which won the gold medal at the Paris Exhibition of 1878—was an instantaneous success, and was imitated far and wide. Reduction, 1—5.



119, 120, 121, 122. HAND-PRINTED PAPERS OF THE EARLY SEVENTIES

These four specimens were produced by Jeffrey & Co., one in 1868, and the others in 1870-1-2, by means of hand-blocks. No record of the artists can be traced, except in the case of the bottom right-hand paper, which was designed by Harrison Weir, the well-known animal painter. Reductions, 1-6.



123. E. W. GODWIN'S "PEACOCK "

A striking effect in one colour, designed by E. W. Godwin for Jeffrey & Co. in 1873. Reduction, 1—5.



124. WALTER CRANE'S "PEACOCKS AND AMORINI "

A famous design by Walter Crane, which not only formed part of the Jeffrey gold medal exhibit at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, but was used by William Morris in his decorative scheme at St. James's Palace. Reduction, 1—5.



125. "BIRD AND BRANCH"

Machine-printed paper of about 1880, attributed to Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith. Reduction, 1—5.



126. "EARLY ENGLISH"

A specimen of English machine-printed wallpaper of 1880, carried out in six colours, by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. Reduction, 1—5.



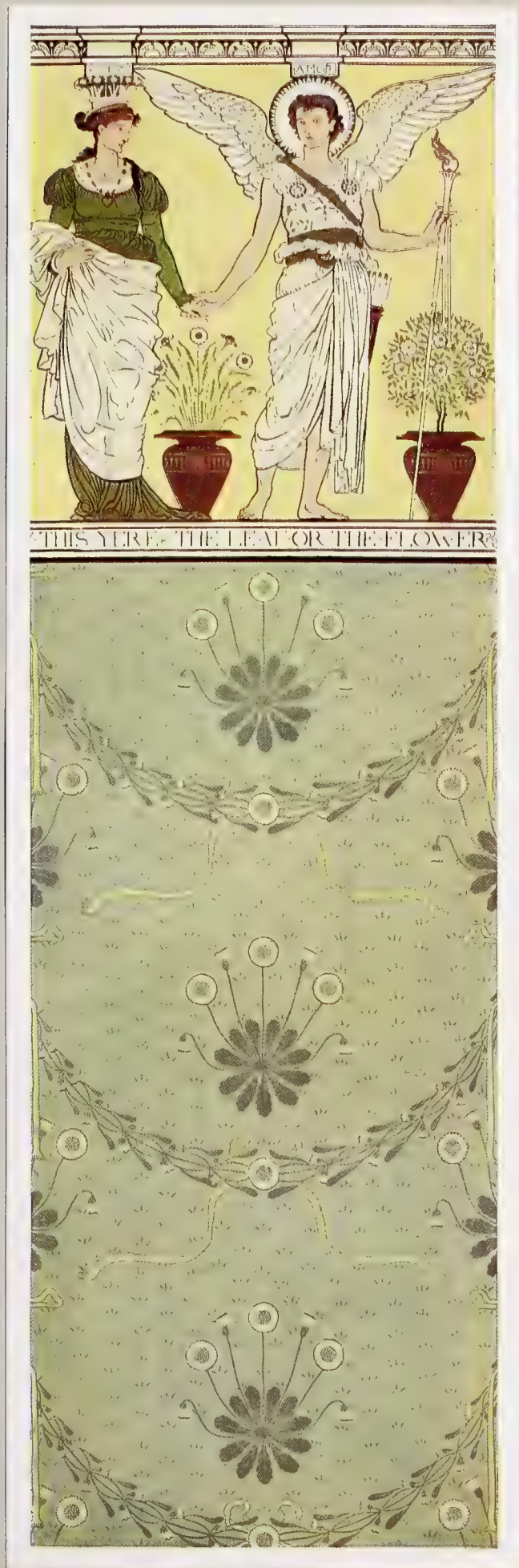
127. THE "HAARLEM"

A two-print block design by J. Pelcher, A.R.A., produced by Hayward & Sons about 1885. Reduction, 1—5.



128. THE "CHINESE CHINTZ"

Reproduced by Chas. Knowles & Co. from old blocks. (Permission, A. Sanderson & Sons). Reduction, 1—5.



129. WALTER CRANE'S "ALCESTIS" FRIEZE
AND "MARGARETE" FILLING

This example of Walter Crane's fancy was greatly admired at the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876. Besides the frieze and filling shown above, there was also a dado of lilies and doves (for which room could not be found in the illustration). Reduction, 1-7.



130. WALTER CRANE'S "WOOD NOTES"
Produced by Jeffrey & Co. in 1886. Reduction, 1-6.



131. WALTER CRANE'S "PEACOCK GARDEN"
Produced by Jeffrey & Co. in 1889. Reduction, 1-5.



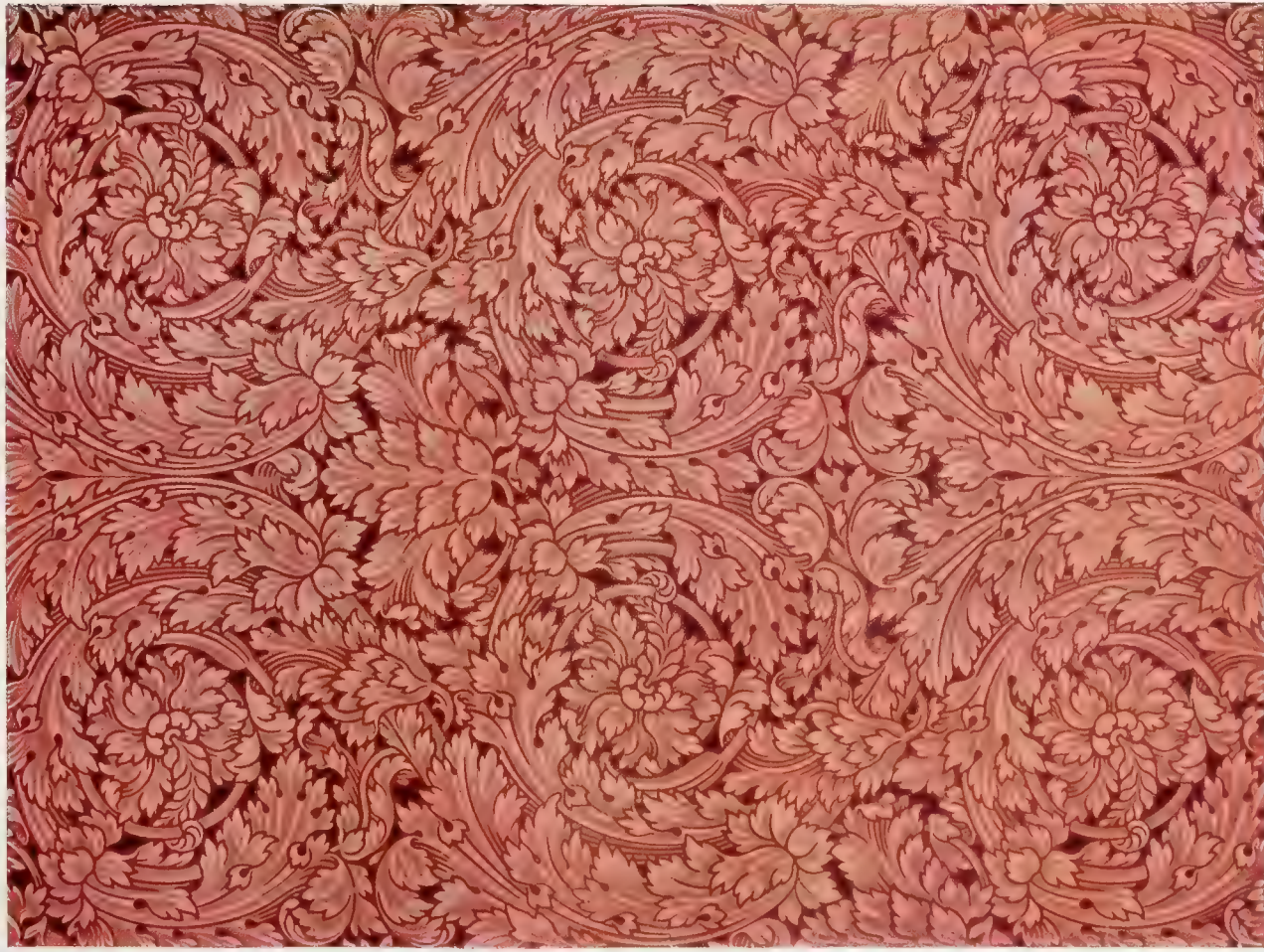
132. THE "DAHLIA "

Produced by Charles Knowles & Co. about 1885, from old blocks. Reduction, 1-5.
(Permission, A. Sanderson & Sons).



133. THE "OLD BIRD CHINTZ"

A typical Charles Knowles' chintz, reproduced about 1885 from old blocks. Reduction, 1-5. (Permission, A. Sanderson & Sons).



134. LEWIS DAY'S THE "ROMAN"

A masterly treatment of the acanthus by Lewis F. Day, designed for Jeffrey & Co. in 1894, and reproduced by hand-blocks. Reduction, 1—9.



135. THE "COMO"

A hand-printed paper designed by Lewis F. Day for Jeffrey & Co. in 1894. Reduction, 1—9.



136. ROCOCO TREATMENT OF FLORAL FORMS
A design by Lancaster, machine-printed by Lightbown, Aspinall
& Co. in six colours, in 1892. Reduction, 1—5.



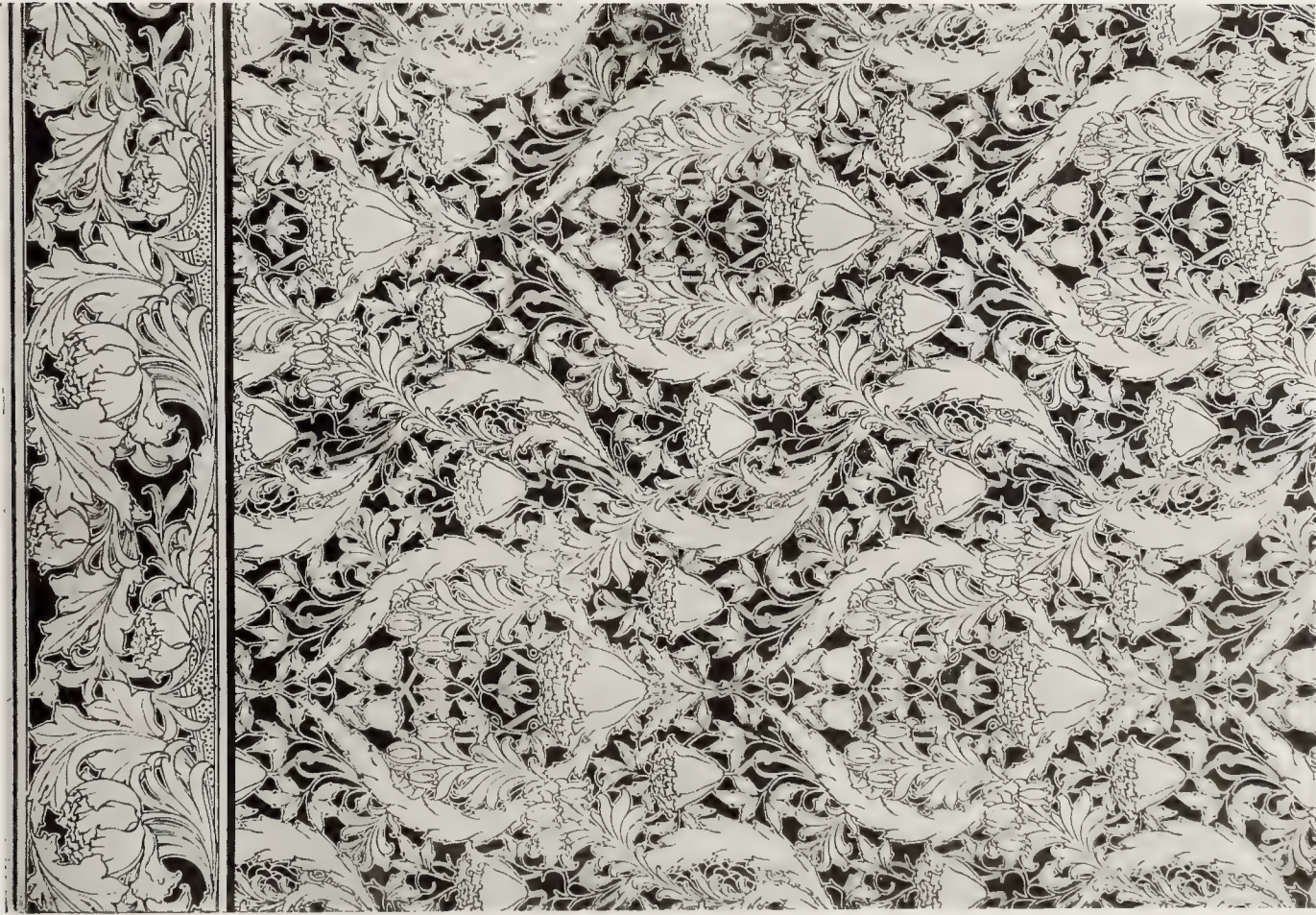
137. THE "SUNFLOWER" FILLING
Produced by Shand Kydd Ltd., in 1893, by hand-block. Reduction, 1—6.



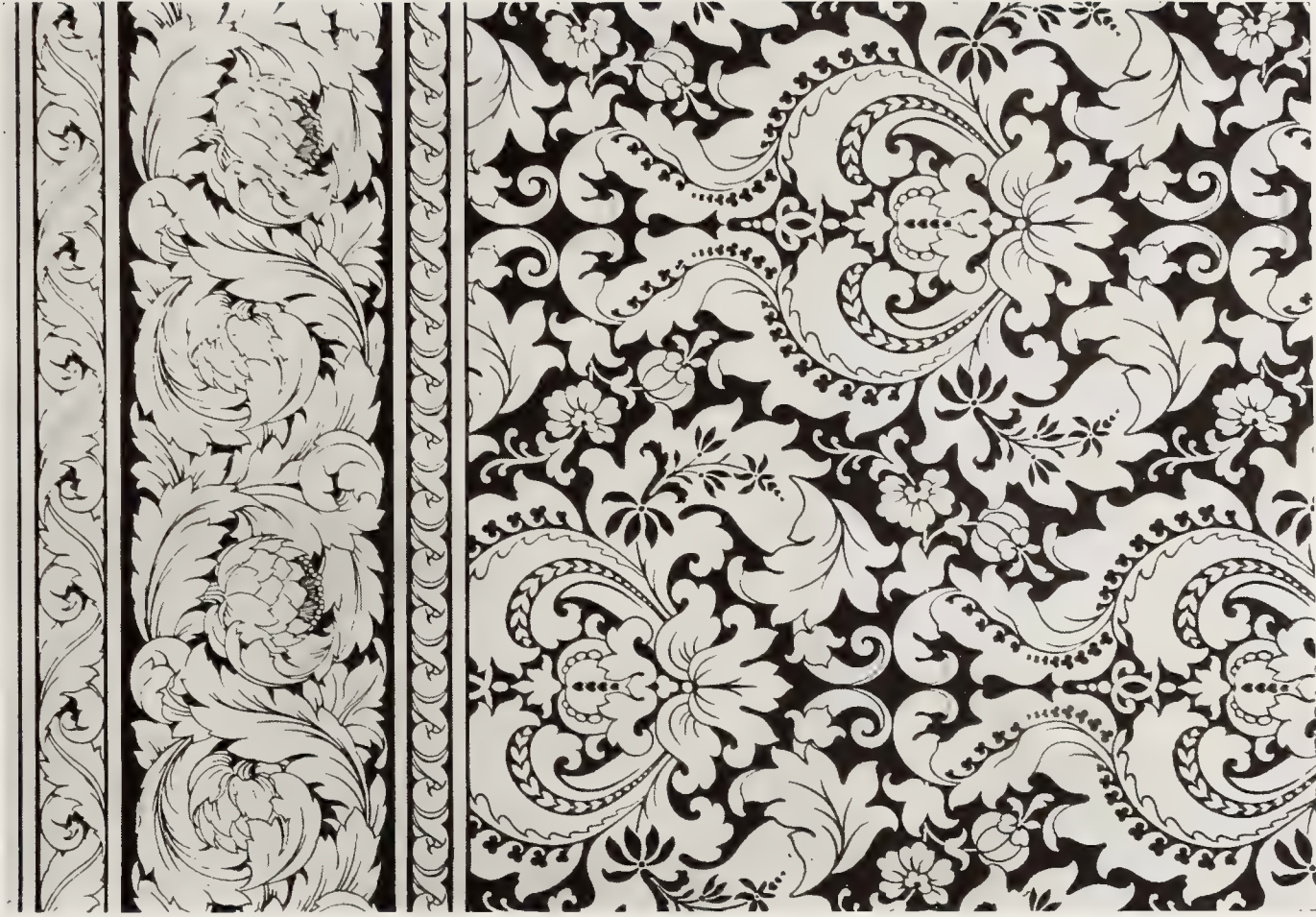
138. A MACHINE-PRINTED FLORAL PAPER
Produced by Lighthown, Aspinall & Co. in 1892, in eight colours. Machine-
printed from a design by Lancaster. Reduction, 1—5.



139. THE "JACOBITE"
A Lewis F. Day design, produced by Jeffrey & Co in 1904.
Reduction, 1—6.



140. AN ARTHUR SILVER FRIEZE AND FILLING
Produced by John Stather & Sons, Ltd., of Hull, about 1896. Reduction, 1—9.



141. AN A. F. BROPHY FRIEZE AND FILLING
Produced by John Stather & Sons, Ltd., of Hull, about 1896. Reduction, 1—9.



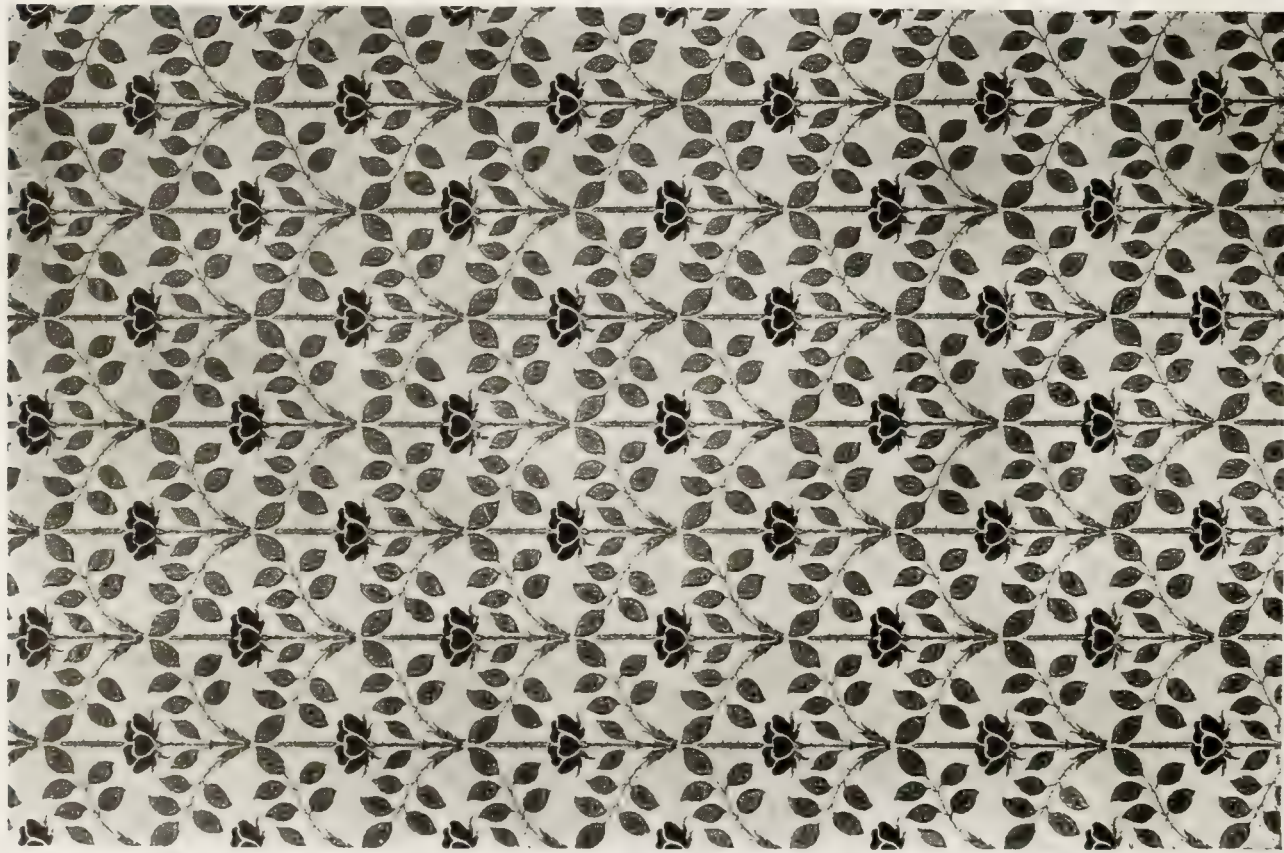
142, 143, 144. THREE TYPICAL WALLPAPERS BY ARTHUR SILVER
 Hand-printed by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1898. Left to right: The "Tantallon," The "Lucania," and "Sea Foam." Reductions, 1-7.



145. C. F. A. VOYSEY'S "TOKYO"
Produced by Essex & Co. about 1895. Reduction, 1—5

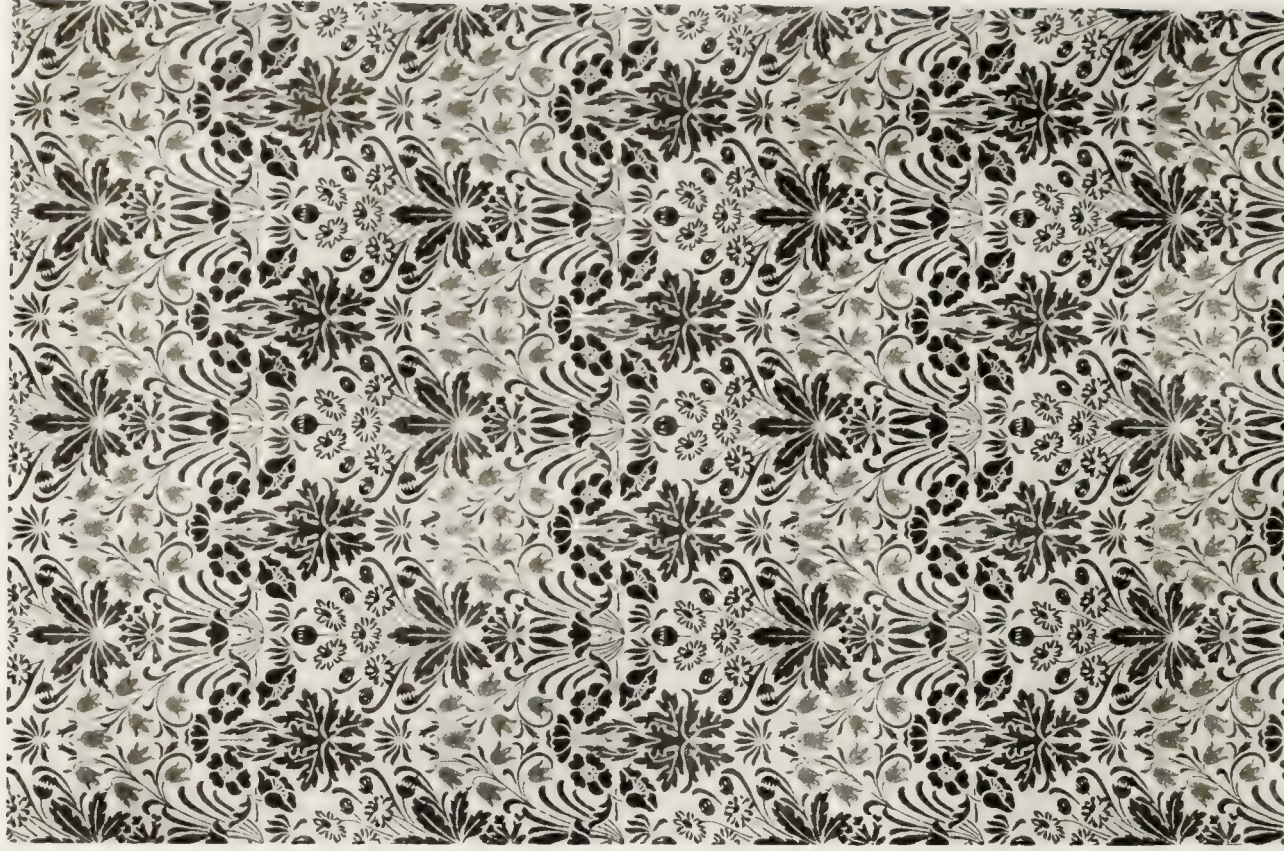


146. THE "SQUIRE'S GARDEN"
Another typical Voysey design. A six-print machine paper, produced by Essex & Co. in 1898. (Permission, A. Sanderson & Sons, Ltd.) Reduction, 1—5.



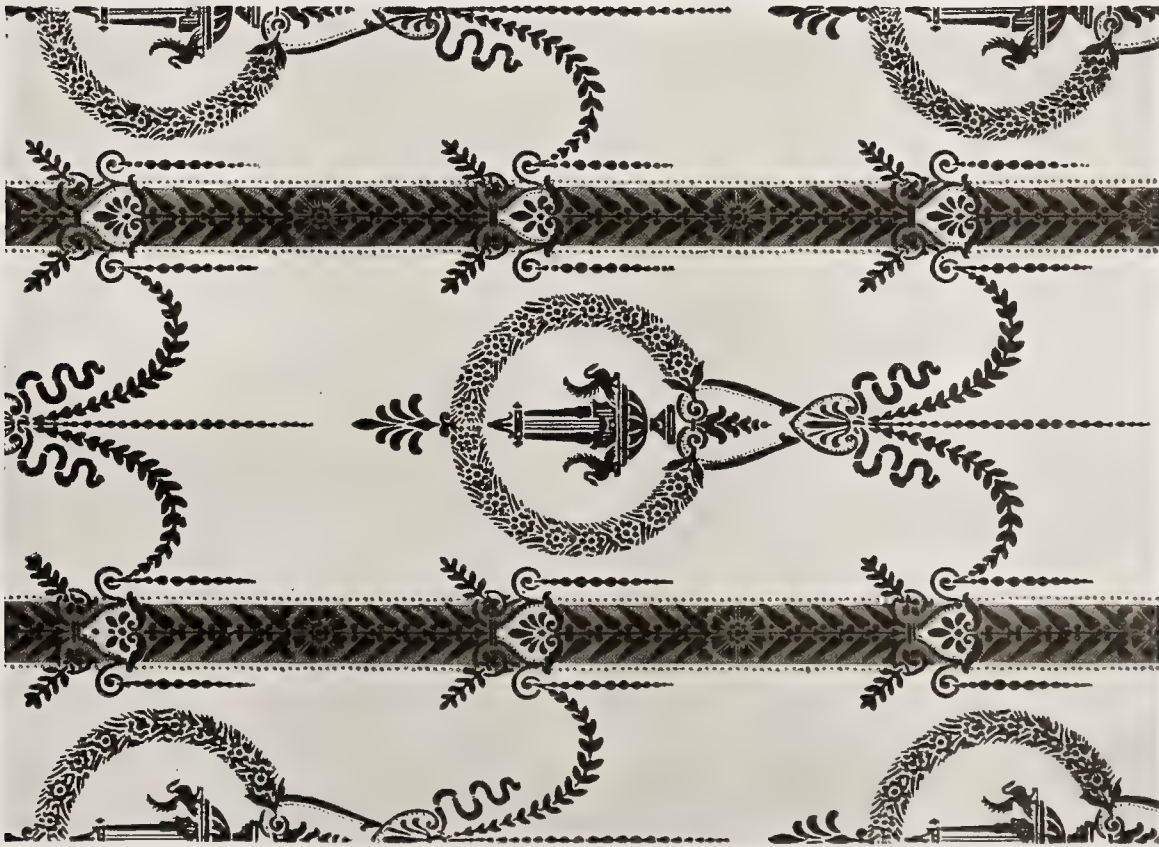
147. THE "BIRCH"

A two-print machine paper, designed by C. F. A. Voysey, and produced by Essex & Co. in 1900. Reduction, 1—10.



148. THE "BUTTERCUP AND DAISY"

Another machine-printed design by C. F. A. Voysey, produced by Essex & Co. Reduction, 1—10.



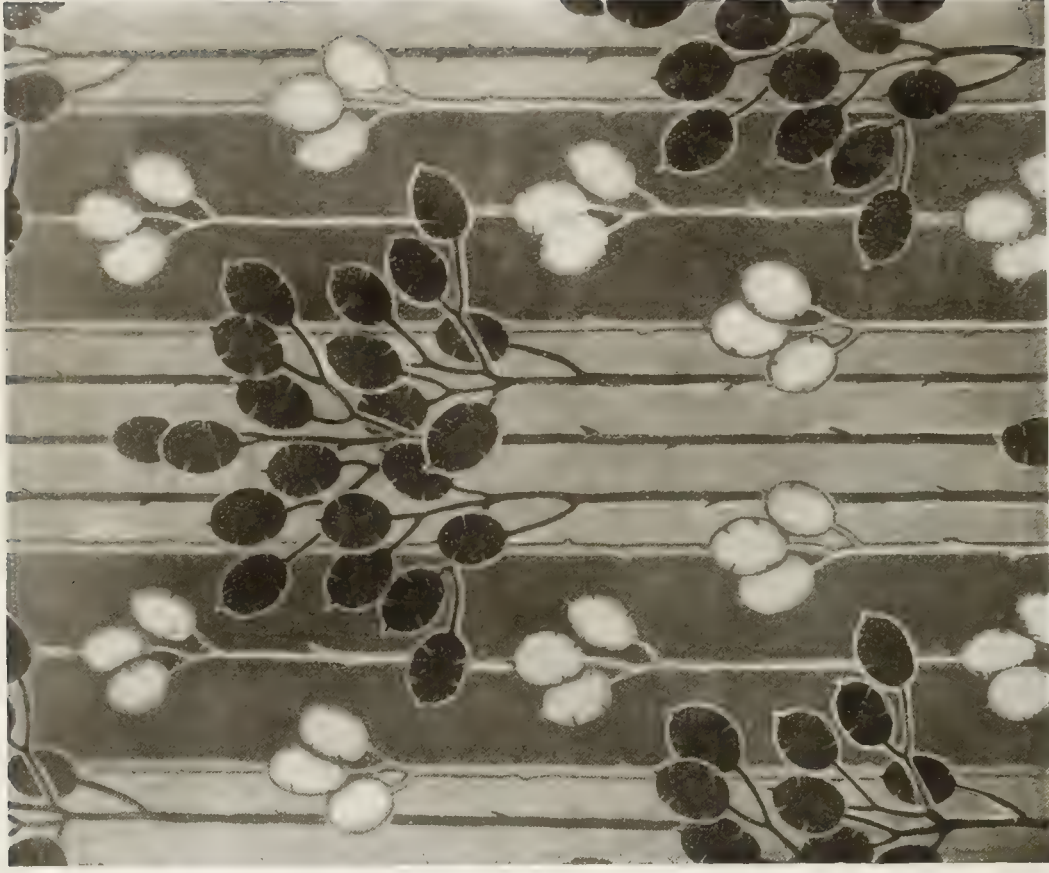
149. AN "ADAM" DESIGN BY BROPHY
Produced by A. Sanderson & Sons, Ltd., in 1903. Reduction, 1—5.



150. "BIRDS AND BUTTERFLY" CHINTZ
Produced by Allan, Cockshut & Co. about 1903. Reduction, 1—5.



151. THE "POMEGRANATE TREE"
A design by Sidney Mawson, produced by Jeffrey & Co. in 1903. Reduction, 1-7.



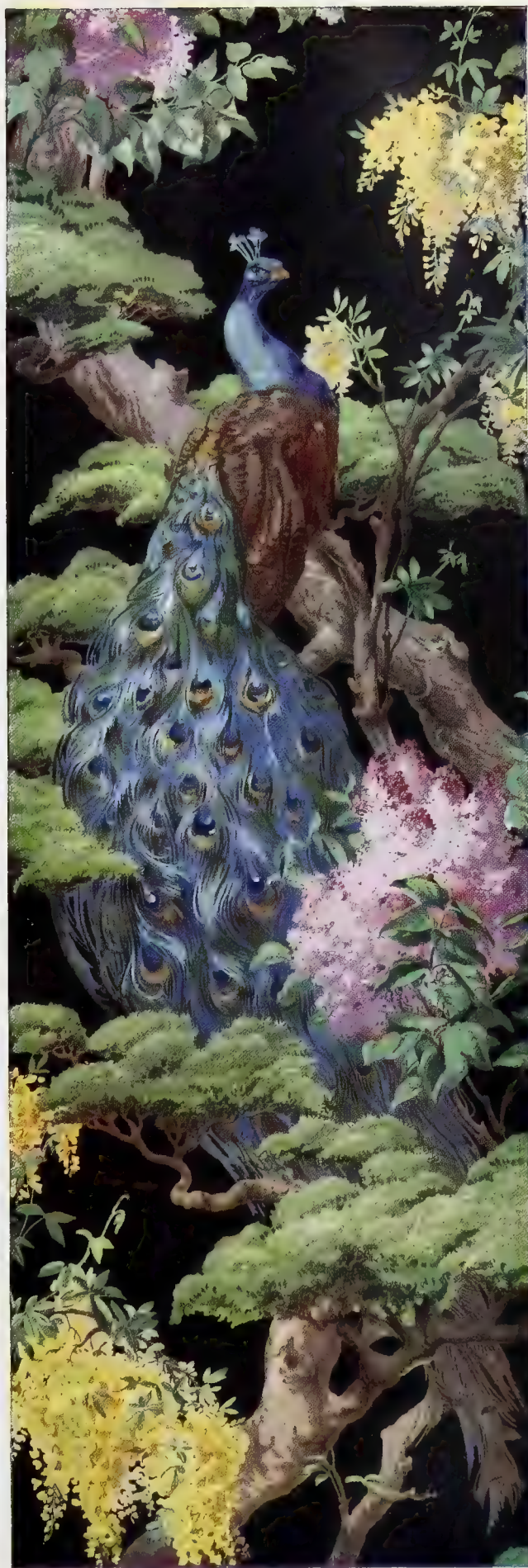
152. "HONESTY"
Designed by F. G. Froggatt and produced by John Line & Sons, Ltd. in 1903. Reduction, 1-4.



153. WALTER CRANE'S "ORANGE TREE"
Produced by Jeffrey & Co. in 1902, from hand blocks. Reduction,
1-6.



154. THE "PICCOLOMINI"
Designed by Lewis F. Day, and hand-printed by Jeffrey & Co. in 1893. Reduction,
1-5.



155. "PEACOCK"

The rich hues of this handsome paper are characteristic of the house of A. Sanderson & Sons, by whom it was produced in 1908, from a design by Louis Stahl. Reduction, 1-7.



156. BIRD, FLOWER, AND FRUIT

A handsome chintz effect in machine work. Produced by Allan, Cockshut & Co. about 1905. Designer unknown. Reduction, 1—5.



157. A "SHADOW" TAPESTRY EFFECT

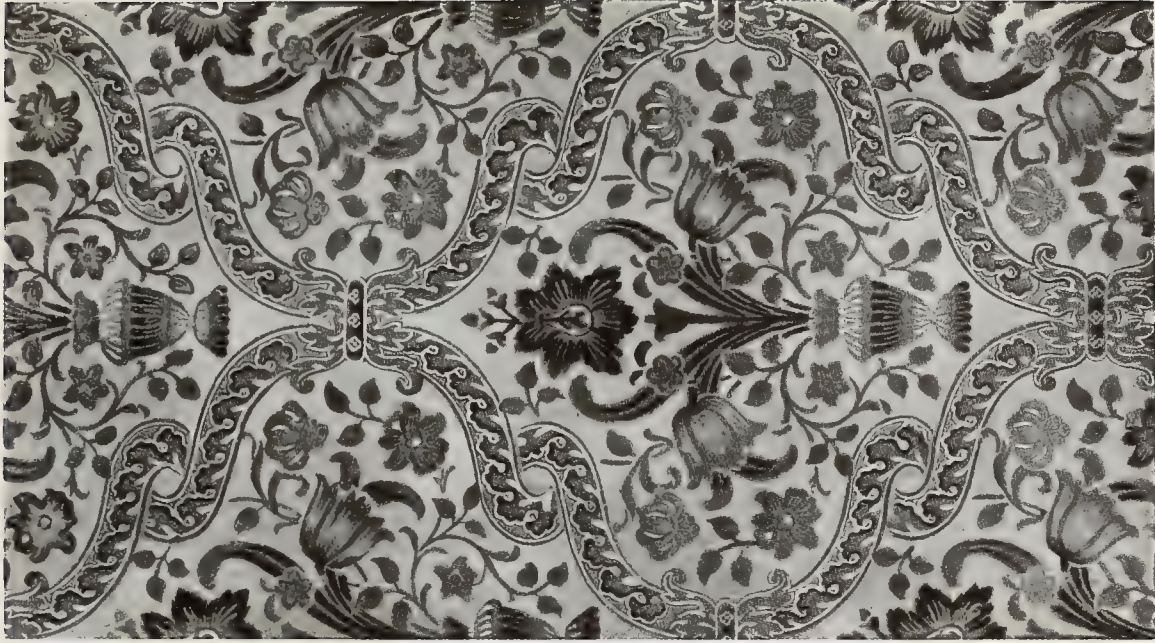
A clever machine-printed paper produced by Allan, Cockshut & Co. about 1905. Designer unknown. Reduction, 1—5.



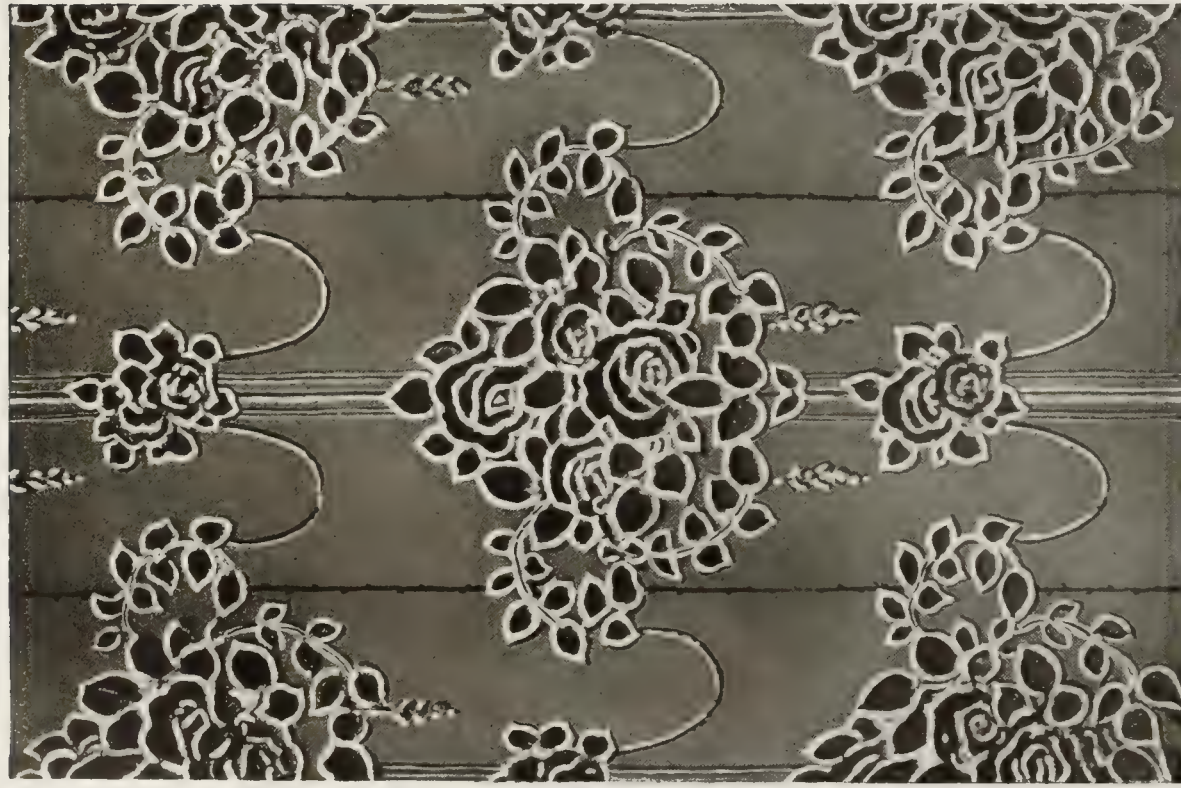
158. AN ELABORATE TAPESTRY PAPER
Machine-printed by Allan, Cockshut & Co. in 1906, from a design by Forrer, of Paris. Reduction, 1—6.



159. WALTER CRANE'S "MACAW"
One of Walter Crane's most successful designs, produced by
Jeffrey & Co. in 1908. Reduction, 1-6.



160. THE "PORTUGUESE"
Produced by Chas. Knowles & Co. in 1909. (Permission, A.
Sanderson & Sons). Reduction, 1-7.



161, THE "MALVERN"
An effective filling by Shand Kydd, Ltd., produced in 1909. Reduction, 1—6.



162, THE "WOODSTOCK"
A hand-printed filling, produced by Shand Kydd, Ltd. in 1910. Reduction, 1—6



163. A STRIPED CHINTZ EFFECT

Machine-printed by Allan, Cockshut & Co. in 1913, from a design by James Thomas.
Reduction, 1—5.



164. "DELPHINIUM AND TRELLIS"
Designed by A. J. Baker, and machine-printed by C. & J. G. Potter in 1914. Reduction, 1—5.



165. "CLEMATIS AND ROSES"
Another design by A. J. Baker, machine-printed by C. & J. G. Potter in 1914. Reduction, 1—5.



166. "CHINESE FLOWERS AND BIRDS"

A design by Sidney Haward, produced by C. & J. G. Potter in 1914. Reduction, 1—3½.

CHAPTER X

DEVELOPMENTS IN TASTE AND TECHNIQUE

EVOLUTION OF THE WASHABLE PAPER—REVIVAL OF HAND-WORK AND
“ FLOCK ”—MODERN EMBOSSING—SEVENTY YEARS’ OUTSTANDING PATENTS—
CHANGES IN STYLE AND FASHION—A HALF-CENTURY’S PROGRESS SUM-
MARISED—LABOUR CONDITIONS IN THE INDUSTRY.

ALTHOUGH, as stated in page 137, interest in the evolution of wallpaper during the past three-quarters-of-a-century has been on the artistic and economic rather than the mechanical side, there are certain phases of development of a technical nature which need to be briefly described. One of the most important is concerned with the striving, which can be traced back to very early days, for a paper-hanging of more durable qualities than the ordinary product, and especially one which can be washed, or at least sponged down, without destroying its surface. The varnished grounds and varnished colours spoken of by Dossie (page 52), were no doubt an attempt to meet this want. So were the Eckhardts’ “ patent silver damask varnished linen and paper ” (pages 110-111).

A method which seems to have enjoyed considerable renown at that time was that of one Crease, of Bath, who achieved a varnished after-process in 1802. Little has survived as to the precise technique and success, or otherwise, which attended this effort, but in R. Ackerman’s “ Repository of Arts ” (1828), reference is made to “ the improvement introduced a few years since by Messrs. Crease, of Great Newport Street, into the manufacture of paper-hangings.”

The writer speaks of an experience of papering the publishers’ new premises, at the corner of Beaufort Buildings, Strand, with this innovation, and describes its claims to preference as follows :—

“ These are founded on its superior cleanliness and economy. In regard to the first point, this paper may be made to retain its original freshness and beauty by the simple operation of washing the surface with soap and water ; and the apartment is consequently

rendered much more pure, cheerful and wholesome. In point of economy, the advantage of the washable paper arises from its durability, which obviates the necessity of frequent re-papering. For public rooms, exposed to accidents from mixed company, the saving of expense in the adoption of this paper will be found considerable."

Ackerman's note receives confirmation in the "Dictionary of Architecture" (1853), which states that "Washable Paper-hangings are worked with Japan Gold-size and Turpentine, instead of distemper. Crease's Washable Paper-hangings date in 1828." In 1840, the Crease process was acquired by Jeffrey & Wise, whose use of it, however, does not appear to have left any material traces.

At the Great Exhibition, of 1851, W. B. Simpson, of the Strand, as already related, showed some patent "washable" papers, in which distemper colours had been subjected to a hardening treatment after printing. Permanence to light was also claimed. Simpson had been experimenting in "Kalsomine" wall-hangings for a few years previous to this date. R. Fletcher, of Derby, also exhibited "Washable Crystal-Granite Paper-hangings" on the same occasion (see page 150).

About the same time, or a little later, F. J. Spurway, at Stoke Newington, devised a washable paper, probably by printing from surface rollers in oil colours.

In 1853, John Stather, a Hull letterpress printer, invented a machine known as the "Iris," for multi-colour work, and the following year adapted it for wallpaper. The earliest paper produced was an oak imitation, printed from the surface in oil colours, from a roller engraved to simulate the grain. The Stather innovation aroused great interest in the trade, and formed the first "washable" paper produced mechanically on a commercial basis. Its adoption was immediate, and its progress steady. The firm varied the original process by printing also from the engraving on the roller, instead of the surface (removing the surplus colour with a doctor), and even by taking the impression direct off the actual grain of wood.

Morton, Rule & Co., 58, Whitechapel Road, E., introduced "new patent lavable paper-hangings" in 1863, without much apparent success, followed by Lee & Co.'s patent "Oleo Charta" in 1869, a washable paper-hanging which it was claimed was impervious to wet, could be put on damp, new, or old walls and would last twenty years. As Thos. Lee & Co.,

of 5, Newman Street, W., only appear to have been in business from the date quoted till about 1875, this venture also cannot have been successful. A washable paper-hanging was produced by the Amaranth Paperstaining Co., Ltd., Old Broad Street, in 1871, but they also gave up the paper-staining business the following year.

In 1871, Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith, of Manchester, after much experiment produced a "sanitary" paper, by means of the identical calico-printing procedure originally attempted by Potter & Ross, at Darwen, in the introduction of rotary machine-printing, but discarded by them in favour of surface rollers and the system developed by them known generally as "surface-printing."

Although the Manchester firm has been usually regarded as the pioneer of the "sanitary" or engraved roller process, it was known to Zuber, of Rixheim, at least twenty years earlier, and was used by this house, both for fine undergrounds, and also for blotch effects with "high lights" in paper. Amongst the wares sold by W. B. Simpson, in 1849, some of which are illustrated in the "Journal of Design," is a specimen of each of these two varieties labelled "imported," and probably the product of the Alsace firm.

Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith's single colour "sanitaries" consisted originally of designs in imitation of Venetian blinds, later developing into oaks and wood imitations, geometric designs, and finally flower designs, with borders and dados. It was claimed by the firm that the new process would ultimately supersede the older surface one, but though the "sanitary" had, and still has, an immense vogue, it has limitations also. Many of the other machine houses soon followed the Manchester lead, the principal ones at the commencement being Potter (Darwen), Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. (Pendleton), Mitchell, Arnott & Co. (Golborne), Walkden & Dixon (Blackburn), and John Trumble & Son (Leeds). In these days the mainstay of production was wood-grain imitation, and the printing shop was invariably known as "The Oaks." The word "Sanitary" itself seemed on the selling side to contain magic properties, conveying an irresistible impression of excellence.

In 1884, Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. introduced the multi-colour principle into this process, John Walker, who was foreman, being a pioneer. He left them shortly afterwards to exploit the product at the new Pendleton mill, known as Walker & Carver.

A coloured effect had been devised by Henry Lightbown many years earlier than the mechanical multi-colour, by means of after-effects blocked in to the single-colour "sanitary" by hand. These results, though pleasing, were not washable.

Other distinguished exponents of the "sanitary"* at a later date were David Walker (Middleton), with his wonderfully soft florals (see Plate 175), and Wylie & Lochhead (Glasgow), whose Gwatin staircases (see Plate 173) and friezes won great popularity. Southall & Snow also placed exceptionally fine mosaic papers on the market about 1892 (private patterns), but probably the most notable achievement of recent times was Lightbown, Aspinall & Co.'s introduction of the shaded damask in 1903 (see Plates 171, 172 and 174).

A new-comer in the washable family was the "Sanitum," brought out by Walker & Carver in 1890, consisting of oil printing by surface rollers in a surface machine, and the latest of all is the German process, introduced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co., Potter's, and Allan, Cockshut & Co., in 1902, wherein though the process has a surface impression, the machine, colour furnishing and printing rollers are distinctive, and bear some analogy to rotary lithography.

HAND-WORK.—The older practice, hard pressed to maintain its position, was greatly stimulated by the revival of stencilling, re-introduced by Hayward & Son, of London, in 1880. A few years later, Shand Kydd, Sanderson, Rottmann, Essex, Line, Cotterell, and others, developed it still further, and some amazing *tours de force* were achieved, particularly during the frieze period, and later with the panel and conventional border.

In 1905, Lightbown, Aspinall & Co., followed by others, introduced the aerograph or spray-pencil to wallpaper, using stencils, of course, as in the original brush process. The aerograph was used sometimes alone, and sometimes as a finish to machine or block work. It was speedier than the older practice, but not so delicate in its shading, nor were the colour values so completely exploited. Examples are given in Plates 221 and 222.

* Amongst the advantages the "sanitary" process possesses are the following : fastness to water, shaded effects in the same tone producible from a single roller, blending of colours, multi-colour effects obtained from a very limited number of rollers, fine pin and line work, softness for landscape, nursery and pictorial subjects, etc. Good examples of these qualities can be traced in the Plates 171-176.

Amongst the achievements of the all-block-printed paper, forced as it has been to leave some of its earlier standard types to the machine, should be mentioned Sanderson's great "Peacock" paper (Plate 155), designed for the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908.

Where a large repeat or extreme solidity of printing or a special colour scheme is essential, the block-printed paper still maintains its supremacy. Jeffrey & Co., like Sandersons, have also well supported this classical procedure, and in many cases have brought out patterns in specially wide dimensions, to emphasise its dignity and breadth. In still more recent years, notable hand-work has been produced by Line & Sons, and by Heffer, Scott & Co., in addition to the firms previously quoted.

"*FLOCKS*."—Apart from Samuel Scott's patent, about 1860, for obtaining higher relief by means of successive layers—as many as three, four or six, which were afterwards painted—attributed to a suggestion made by Mawer Cowtan, and the Woollams' patent of 1878, which related to stamping or embossing the relief by means of a heated die after "flocking," the most striking innovation has been in the use of silk in place of, or as an addition to, the woollen material. Applied in precisely the same way, it has been utilised to produce some most beautiful effects for drawing-rooms in designs of the brocade type. The older type continued in vogue till about 1900, especially for more formal apartments, such as picture galleries (usually a red one), libraries, large dining-rooms, etc.

EMBOSSING AND FINISHES.—Very considerable improvements have been introduced into these processes of recent years, the most important one in embossing being that resulting from the Sanderson patents. By this means all manner of textures can be most faithfully reproduced either as a finish or as an effect in itself. The impression is lasting and does not flatten out on the wall. Leather papers of plain character closely simulating real skins as well as relief designs have also been greatly in favour, and in addition, imitations of silk known as "soirettes," wherein the use of mica has been the main feature other than the refinement of the embossed design.

Jeffrey's and Woollam's made highly relieved papers from about 1885 onwards. Those of Jeffrey's, imitating leather, were in high relief, and had all the appearance of antique leathers. The first they produced

was from a design by Hensman, who was working with B. J. Talbert, the *repoussé* plate being by T. Godfrey. Jeffrey's "Abercorn," designed by Lewis F. Day, is illustrated in Plate 225. Rottmann followed with imported Japanese leathers based on English designs some ten years later. Wylie & Lochhead brought out a range called "Crown Relief" about 1902, and Sanderson's leathers from 1912 onwards have been without superiors in that type of decoration. There was, and is, a certain affinity between all these efforts and the purely "Raised Material" decoration dealt with later.

A tendency manifested itself shortly after the beginning of the 20th century of improving the "finish" by passing the papers two, and even three times, through the printing machine, thereby obtaining back-grounds or "over-prints" independently of the printing of the design, with resulting smartness of impression. All manner of combinations in this treatment have been in evidence, surface, "sanitary," and oil, with mixtures of all three methods.

SEVENTY YEARS' OUTSTANDING PATENTS

A brief list of some of the more noteworthy patents recorded for improvements in manufacture gives a convenient bird's-eye view of technical development :—

- 1855. Doctor Graham, of Darwen, for grounding.
- 1856. Walmsley Preston, of Darwen, for "damping or moistening before glazing or polishing."
- 1858. Abel Heywood, of Manchester, for "suspending paper after printing to dry same."
- 1864. Robert Smith and Jabez Booth, of Manchester, for "certain improvements in connection with satin printing."
- 1865. John Wylie and James Rew, of Glasgow, for improving manufacture of stamped golds."
- 1869. Robert Smith and John Higginbottom, of Manchester, for "damping or steaming before printing."
- 1871. Henry Lightbown, of Manchester, for "registering lengths."
- 1880. John Dunn, of Newcastle, for "flocking size to be applied prior to application of sawdust." (Resultant product a form of raised material called "Lignus Fibræ.")
- 1881. William Cunnington, of London, for "Frosted Golds."
- 1885. William Scott, of Chelsea, for applying mica to grounding, preparing the mica by burning in a furnace.

- c1885. Hayward & Son, of London, for a "patent joint" for fillings when stencilled.
- 1890. C. P. Huntington, of Darwen, for applying "gold, flock, mica, or other materials, by means of a separate cylinder attached to a printing machine."
- 1890. John Walker and Harry Carver, for "Sanitum" wallpapers (washable).
- 1898. D. W. Yates, of Radcliffe, for "wallpaper with perforated selvages."
- 1898. G. W. Osborn, of London, for "overlapping selvages."
- 1906. D. W. Yates, of Golborne, for "registering lengths."
- 1910-1. Harold Sanderson, for "embossing."

All these refinements and technical developments are however, as previously mentioned, more in the nature of evolutions, and probably in the eyes of the consumer, always secondary to the question of design and colour. They have their interest, however, for the expert and technician.

CHANGES IN STYLE AND FASHION

Besides the many subsidiary technical developments described in the preceding pages, many of which had their influence on the quality and character of the product, record should be made of various changes in style, which marked the last half of the 19th, and the earlier years of the present century. It would be incorrect to regard these changes as steps in evolution so much as a manifestation of the dictates of fashion or, it may be, an expression of nothing more than the ordinary human desire for "some new thing." They had to do with form rather than manner.

In certain aspects, indeed, they marked the swing of the pendulum in relation to the fundamental problem of what should be the real purpose of wall decoration.

Take, for instance, that rather "nice" question of whether the beauty of a paper-hanging should be all-sufficient, or should it be considered solely from the point of view of appropriateness as a background to pictures, furniture, and so on. And so we have had the Dado, the Frieze, and the Filling, either separate or in combination, the Panel, and the Border, with all the permutations possible between plain and fancy effects as the taste of the moment dictated. A brief examination of some of these changes in style will no doubt be found of interest.

GILDED PAPERS.—One of the earliest of modern vogues was for gilded papers. Wylie & Lochhead's innovation "stamped golds," introduced in 1860, made on flat presses, was followed by William Woollams, in 1864, as well as by others. Ultimately "golds" became so popular that about 1890 to 1900 a gold treatment was used as an alternative working for all good papers, floral, conventional, or whatever they were.

THE DADO.—This fashion ran from about 1870 to 1890, when it began to decline. Originally introduced by Jeffrey, in block, from a design by Brightwon Binyon, the architect, in which the dado *motif* was a corn-field and poppies, and followed by Woollams and others, it was speedily transferred to machine, and later to "sanitary" papers, where it still survives. In its origin it had much to commend it in both an architectural and a decorative sense, but later it was very much abused. An ingenious adaptation of the dado to the rake of staircases was introduced by Toleman, about 1880. Typical dados are illustrated in Plates 185, 183 and 175, consisting of one by Woollams in block, one by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. from surface rollers, and one by David Walker as a "sanitary" paper, from engraved rollers.

DAMASK AND DRAWING-ROOM.—In the late "seventies" came the damask and drawing-room styles, where great use was made of the contrast between a matt print and a shiny ground, or *vice versa*. Scott Cuthbertson was famous for these. Cooke, of Leeds, also introduced a distinguished range in 1879, which he called "Golden Lustre Silks," and William Cunningham, in 1881, produced a rival effort called "Crystal Damasks," which he followed in 1882 by "Frosted Golds." William Woollams was also very celebrated for his damasks (see Plate 186). In 1885, Wylie and Lochhead introduced "satinettes," grounded or printed by means of liquid mica. Hitherto, a tolerable mica or talc ground had been produced by applying coarsely-powered mica to a hard-sized ground by means of a "jumbo"—a sort of revolving pepper-castor, which sprinkled the mica on the wet ground as the paper left the grounding-machine—this achieved a glistening surface, something like the snow effect on the old-fashioned Christmas card. John Wylie experimented until he evolved a mixture consisting of finely-ground mica, treated with a suitable size, which could be applied direct from the colour boxes, not only to the ground, but to printing, and the resultant effect was softer and more decorative than the older process.

THE CENTRE.—This was a circular decoration for putting round a gas pendant. It was produced in various sizes, and when larger than 21 inches in diameter, was manufactured in segments. It had a good run from about 1880 onwards, and was done in both surface and “sanitary” types. A specimen by John Allen is illustrated in Plate 168.

NATIVE STYLES.—In the race for export trade, the demands of overseas countries were studied, and Hindoo God patterns became very popular with the machine houses about 1890 and 1900 (Plate 169). They were intended to be used for religious festivals and had a large sale. There were also wonderfully coloured collections of designs for India and China in particular, about this time.

NURSERY AND SCENIC PAPERS.—It may seem far-fetched to suggest affinity between the elaborate scenic papers on which the French expended so much effort from the days of the Revolution, and the nursery papers which have become so popular in this country; but in a sense there is an expression of the same desire to have a story, a landscape, or a topical phase of life captured and translated into one’s daily surroundings.

The transition from papers such as those shown in Plates 179 and 181 (the former imitating the old-time tapestry, and the latter depicting a series of “costume” incidents) to a real nursery paper like that of the “Four Seasons” (Plate 178), or the charming Caldecott set (Plate 177), cannot have been difficult.

But the first outstanding nursery paper was Walter Crane’s “Sing a Song of Sixpence,” already referred to (Plate 180), which he designed for Jeffrey in 1875. Another interesting effort of Crane’s was his “Mistress Mary,” produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co., and yet another classic of the period is seen in the typical Kate Greenaway (Plate 182), reproduced by David Walker from the original, by permission of the artist.

Many nursery subjects fall in the very comprehensive frieze period, which we are now about to touch on.

THE FRIEZE PERIOD.—No style has called forth such a variety of effort on the part of designers and producers, or such a range of subject as the frieze. Conventional, allegorical, classical, topical, scenic, naturalistic, broad in effect, or full of detail as fancy dictated, the frieze has given

every possible scope for ingenuity in method of production. It came fully into its own about the beginning of 1900, and continued in favour until a few years ago.

Some were done by machine, some by block, some (as already described) by stencil, a mode revived about 1880, by Hayward & Son, and later exploited with the most successful results by Shand Kydd, Sanderson, and others. The application of the aerograph to stencil work by Lightbown, Aspinall in 1905, led to great developments in the decoration, and put at the service of the designer a range of beautiful effects, which acted as an incentive to invention.

One clever effect was introduced by Allan, Cockshut & Co., through the use of rollers of different scale. The background of, say, a scenic frieze would be produced with the pattern "repeating" for a given distance; while the superimposed or accessory details, such as groups of trees, etc., would be repeated on a quite different scale in such a way as to suggest a landscape which, while possessing a unity of character, did not "repeat" too minutely. One of the most celebrated, as well as the first, in this series, was the "Seine," shown in Plate 197.

Typical friezes are illustrated in Plates 187-224; they give quite a good idea of the variety achieved in this style by many of the leading producers.

Amongst nursery friezes should be mentioned the Aldin and Hassall designs, originally printed by Lawrence & Jellicoe, and later transferred to Sanderson's, two of which are shown in Plates 216-219. Other nursery friezes are the Will Owen designs, reproduced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. (see Plate 213), and the Lucie Attwell and Lawson Wood friezes of C. & J. G. Potter (see Plates 214 and 215).

The vogue for friezes actually worked itself out by its own prodigality. While it lasted it spared no other style, either as to *motif* or manner of expression. As will be seen from the illustrations, everything that had a decorative value was dragged in by the designer to serve its ends, and it was not surprising that as the frieze became more and more dominant, wallpaper inevitably quietened down until pure design was almost extinguished in the fillings of the period. A happier equilibrium has been found in later years.

THE CROWN DECORATION.—About the middle and towards the end of the frieze period, a style came in consisting of frieze and filling produced

in one continuous wall length of about four yards. Originally it was done in block, a simple proceeding, by using the same colours throughout, but changing the blocks for the frieze subject. Generally the designs were floral, rose ramblers climbing up into bushy growths on the frieze line, tall chrysanthemums breaking into bloom under the picture rails, and so forth. The effect was excellent in a decorative sense, and attempts were made to make them in machine. When manufactured in two separate operations, they were difficult to hang so as to obtain perfect joining, and also to match for "shadiness," though these difficulties were later overcome. Much ingenuity was shown in printing the crown and filling in wall-lengths precisely as the hand-printed ones, one of the processes being by masking the paper for one "repeat," and then printing the frieze or crown portion later by hand.

In 1905, Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. succeeded in performing the whole operation by machinery, and at one printing, by means of cams which "bumped" the filling out, and the frieze in every four yards. This, however, was in a "sanitary" machine, and the type of design was not particularly suited for this process. Later, at Holmes Chapel, G. F. Jackson, who had been largely concerned in the Lightbown experiment, repeated the process in surface, but it arrived at a time when the type of decoration was waning. Typical crown papers are shown in Plates 226, 227, and 228.

THE PANELLING PERIOD.—This came in following the crown decoration, and is represented at its highest expression, associated with appropriate friezes, in the two designs of Shand Kydd, "Willow Pattern," and "Carnforth," shown in Plates 229 and 230.

CUT-OUT PAPERS.—The "cut-out" frieze and border has been the latest-comer, and is probably a revival of an old decorative application, the scalloped border. As at first supplied by the manufacturer, it required the scissors of the paperhanger to cut it to form, but it is now perforated at the time of manufacture, rendering its application on the wall a simple matter.

A HALF-CENTURY'S PROGRESS SUMMARISED

Summing up the developments of the last half-century very briefly, from the point of view of individual achievement, and for the moment ignoring the steady plodding work of general endeavour, it may be said that the

following passages are specially worthy of mention, and are cited more or less in their order of appearance :—

- (1) Metford Warner's determined and continued efforts to bring wallpaper up to the level of the Arts. His energy, initiative, and personal artistry have made the name of Jeffrey a household word, wherever wallpapers are known.
- (2) The example of William Morris and his disciples, amongst whom must be included such men as Walter Crane and Lewis F. Day.
- (3) The vogue of the Knowles' Chintzes (see Plates 132, 133, and 160).
- (4) R. W. Essex's short but brilliant career at Battersea, inspired by the examples of Morris and Warner. An important feature was the way this house specialised in the work of C. F. A. Voysey.
- (5) The development of Sandersons to their present unique position, both as distributors and as manufacturers, another case like that of the Cockshut brothers, of extraordinarily successful partnerships between members of the same family, whose qualities and activities have always been complementary to and never in opposition to each other.
- (6) The coming of Shand Kydd, the wizard of colour, who has introduced as distinctive a note into design and its treatment as any of the giants of the past.
- (7) The almost complete elimination of foreign designs. Before 1914 the industry had fallen into the habit of taking a great many Continental designs, especially for the general run of trade, chiefly because they were easy to cut and engrave. During the War it became necessary for the industry to train its own designers—often women—and this has been done so successfully that while the trade is prepared to buy designs from all over the world, the merit of the English designer is such that no more than 2 per cent. of the designs now come from abroad.

In the foregoing twenty or thirty pages an endeavour has been made to trace not only the artistic development of paper-hangings during the past three-quarters-of-a-century, arising from the attention given to the craft by some of the leading designers of the day, but also the changes in style, which enabled decorated or "stained" paper to play its part, not as something exotic, something foreign to its surroundings, but as really an integral part of a decorative scheme.

Lest the stress laid on those two aspects of the evolution of paper-hangings obscure the share of credit due elsewhere, it should be added that much as the reputation of English wallpapers owes to excellence of design and execution, scarcely less credit is due to those firms and

individuals who produced the papers, and who, apart from progress on the technical side of their business, showed the right kind of enterprise in seeking for and encouraging talent wherever they could find it.

It is difficult to do even-handed justice to all who have deserved well of the craft in this respect. In a later section of this book will be found set out the more salient historical facts about many of the leading wall-paper houses in this country. Some of these establishments trace direct descent from historical houses of the past; others, whose names are still household words, have, alas, found it impossible to resist the changes which time brings sooner or later to all human institutions.

As is well known, commercial and economic considerations led to the amalgamation in 1899 of a number of the best-known firms in the trade into a great joint-stock company, under the title of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., with a capital of four millions sterling, and consisting of branches engaged chiefly in machine-printing, but manufacturing also considerable quantities of hand-produced paper-hangings, as well as a wide range of "raised" materials for decorative purposes.

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN THE INDUSTRY

Development in respect of labour conditions has been as great as that in other directions, and in some aspects is even more remarkable.

We have already seen that the earliest paper-stainer was a man of all trades, who in some instances drew his own designs, cut his blocks, mixed his colours, printed and coloured his product, displayed and sold, and finally even hung it on the wall, all in single-handed sequence. Gradually and imperceptibly specialising has superseded this all-round efficiency, particularly since the dawn of machine-printing, and the separation of activities into an infinite number of sub-divisions has proceeded cumulatively.

On sentimental grounds one may sigh at the passing of the "craftsman," and for the loss of direct interest in, and oversight of, the whole sequence of operations, but against this can at least be set up the rendering possible of a price reduction which has brought the article into consumption by even the very poorest of the poor.

To-day there is a federation of trades unions (not merely one), and in its published schedule of occupations, there are 140 different "jobs," with sub-divisions into skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled, jobs reserved for

male, female or juvenile, and even sub-sections defining grades of efficiency. All these divisions have been recognised with the goodwill and co-operation of the employers, between whom and the trades' union officials and members there rests the most cordial understanding.

There is a Whitley Industrial Council for the trade, and since its inauguration there has never been the semblance of strike, dispute, slowing down of output, or any of those modern symptoms of industrial bad-temper, which are the "growing pains" of mechanical evolution.

The general secretary on the Labour side is Chas. Kean, O.B.E., J.P., one of the sanest, as well as hardest working of trades union organisers. As evidence of smooth working and of confidence in the good-faith of the members of the Industrial Council it should be related that although the chairmanship of that body is by its constitution supposed to pass annually from side to side the office-holder has never been changed since the inception of the Council. He happens to be an employer.

The conditions of working have also been greatly modified from the early days of "th' 'ot 'ole," rough uneven floors covered with wet, slimy colour, cramped work-rooms, long hours and low wages, piece-meal buildings, hole-and-corner offices and "funk-holes," haphazard and zig-zagging lay-outs.

Modern factories with their wide spaces, orderly lay-outs, progressive sequence, concrete floorings, fan ventilation, etc., have changed all this, and it is interesting to conjecture the amazement of the old colour-splashed workman in his round paper cap (an adjunct which long supplied the hall-mark of a "pukka" paper-stainer) could he see his successor in neat overalls standing on a spotless floor, with his ball-bearing machine swiftly eating up its "x" miles per hour supply of paper, from reels whose size would make the visitor gasp.

It is estimated that some thousands of persons are directly employed in production in the industry, and there must be many more thousands of others more or less dependent on the industry for a livelihood.

The excellence of English wallpapers is acknowledged throughout the civilised world. In addition to the 70,000,000 or 80,000,000 pieces of paper-hangings sold in this country every year, many million pieces are exported. There is no country in the world possessing a high standard of living where

English wallpaper is not prized. Our best customers overseas include our Dominions, France, Belgium, Holland, the United States, and South America.

It is no part of the purpose of this book to supply encyclopaedic as well as historical information, and the figures just mentioned are only intended to give a rough idea of the economic and industrial importance of a craft whose historical and artistic development it has been the object of the authors to endeavour to trace, in the hope that in doing so there may be placed on record and set in right perspective, not only the development of the use of paper-hangings for domestic decoration, but also the considerable contributions by English paper-stainers and designers to what was claimed, in the opening chapter, to be at once the most universal and the most democratic of the applied arts.



167. EMBOSSED "FLOCK"

Produced by William Woollams & Co. in 1878-9. The relief was heightened by means of a heated die. Reduction, 1—5.



168. MACHINE-PRINTED CEILING DECORATION

Centre for a ceiling (in about 12 colours) produced by J. Allan & Son, in 1878-9. Reduction, 1—5.



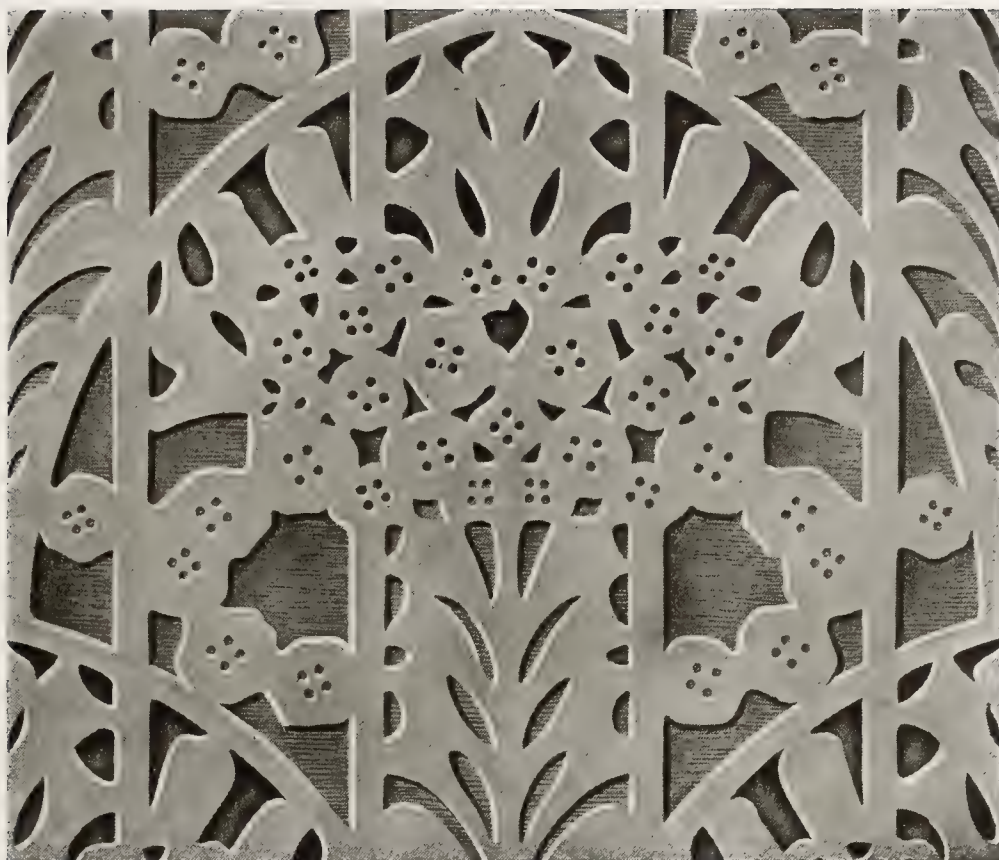
169. A "HINDOO GOD" WALLPAPER

A typical specimen from a set of wallpapers dealing with episodes in Hindoo theology, machine-printed by Allan, Cockshut & Co., about 1880, for use in connection with religious festivals in India. It is said that some of the old manufacturers refused from conscientious scruples to produce papers of this kind. Reduction 1—5.



170. FRIEZE AND FILLING

Designed by A. Davidson from French originals, and machine-printed by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in eight colours. Reduction, 1—5.



171. THE FIRST ENGRAVED "SANITARY" DAMASK
Produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1902, from three rollers. Design by
Gustav Doren. Reduction, 1—4.



172. ANOTHER "SANITARY" DAMASK
The second engraved "sanitary" damask, produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co.,
in 1903, also from three copper rollers. Design by Paul Leschke. Reduction, 1—4.



173. ARTHUR GWATKIN'S "FLAMING TULIPS"
Produced by Wylie & Lochhead in 1903 from engraved rollers. Reduction, 1—5.



174. A SUCCESSFUL "SANITARY" DAMASK
Designed by W. Hermann, and produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1907—
the most successful "sanitary" damask ever printed. Reduction, 1—5.



175. AN ENGRAVED DADO
Machine-printed from engraved rollers, and issued by David Walker & Co. in 1896.
Reduction, 1—5.



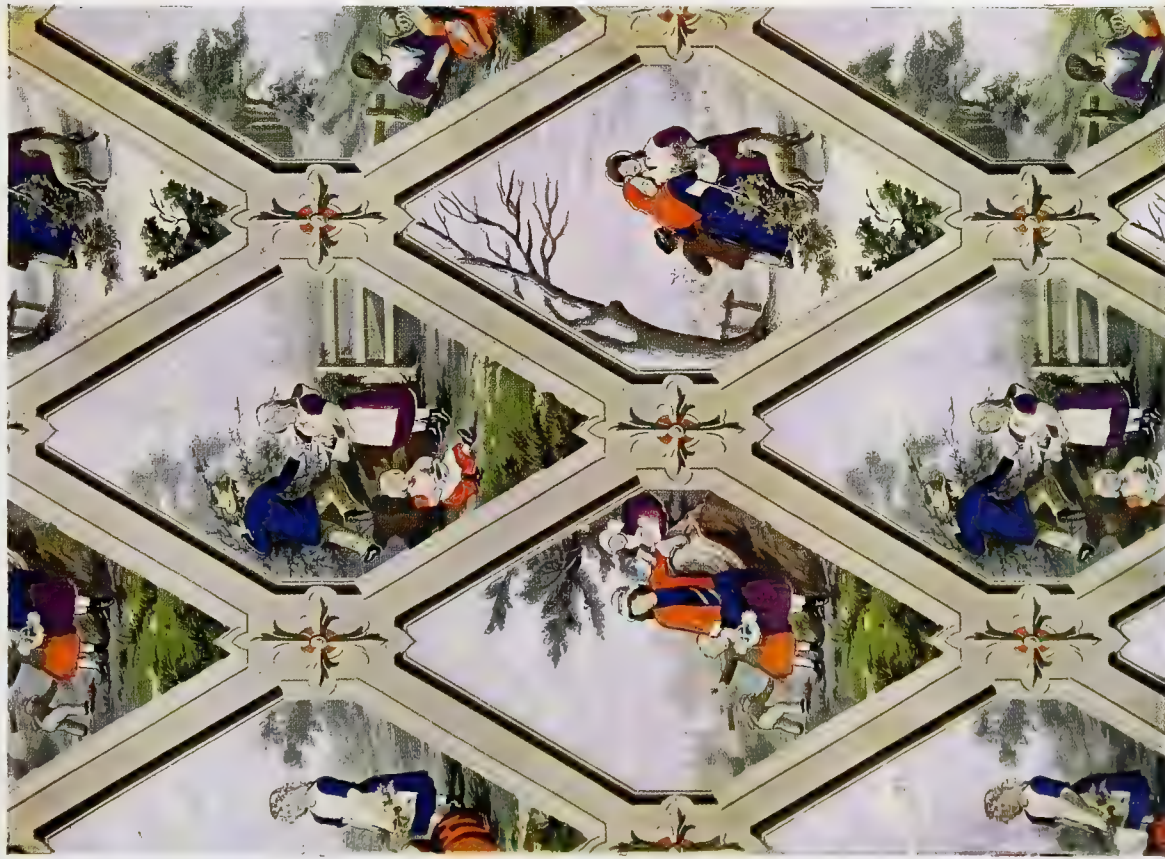
176. A "SANITARY" CHINTZ

Based on an old block-printed chintz, and produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1910. Was very successful and widely imitated. Reduction, 1—5.



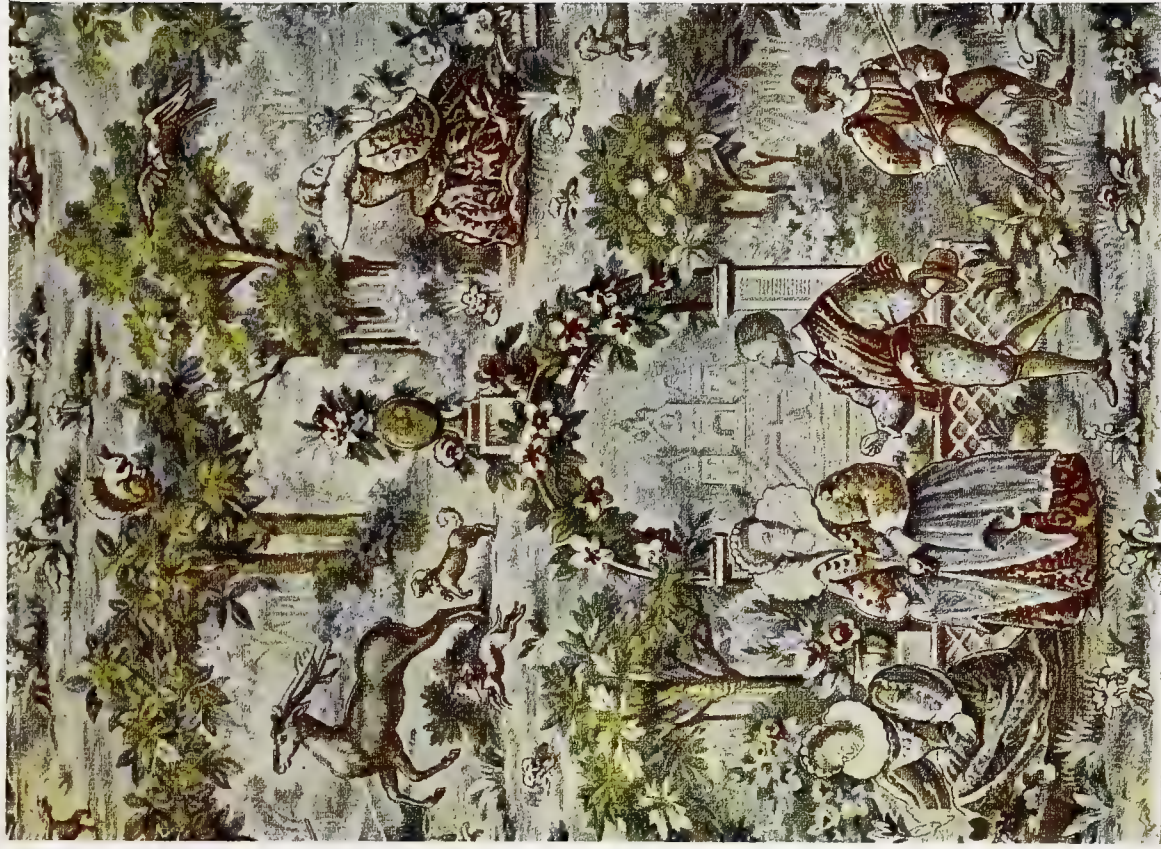
177. A "CALDECOTT" NURSERY PAPER

A novel nursery paper, machine-printed, adapted by J. C. Cockshut about 1900, from Randolph Caldecott's nursery books, and produced by Allan, Cockshut & Co. about 1900. Reduction, 1—5.



178. AN EARLY NURSERY PAPER

This nursery paper, depicting Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, is to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and is attributed to Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith. Approximate date, 1870. Reduction, 1-5.



179. A MACHINE-PRINTED TAPESTRY PAPER

A scenic tapestry paper, machine-printed in about 16 colours, attributed to Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith. (From Kate Sanborn's "Old-Time Wallpapers.") Reduction, 1-5.



180. WALTER CRANE'S FIRST WALLPAPER DESIGN.

The first paper-hanging Walter Crane designed—the "Queen of Hearts" nursery paper—done at the request of Jeffrey & Co. Reduction, 1-4.



181. SCENIC COSTUME PAPER-HANGING

A machine-printed paper depicting scenes in the life of a "gallant," attributed to Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith. Date, about 1890. (Permission, Victoria and Albert Museum). Reduction, 1-5.



182. THE "KATE GREENAWAY" NURSERY PAPER

Motifs from Kate Greenaway's "Almanack" utilised to form a charming frieze and filling, produced by David Walker & Co. in 1893 as a nursery paper. The frieze represents the seasons, and the filling the months. Reduction, 1-6.

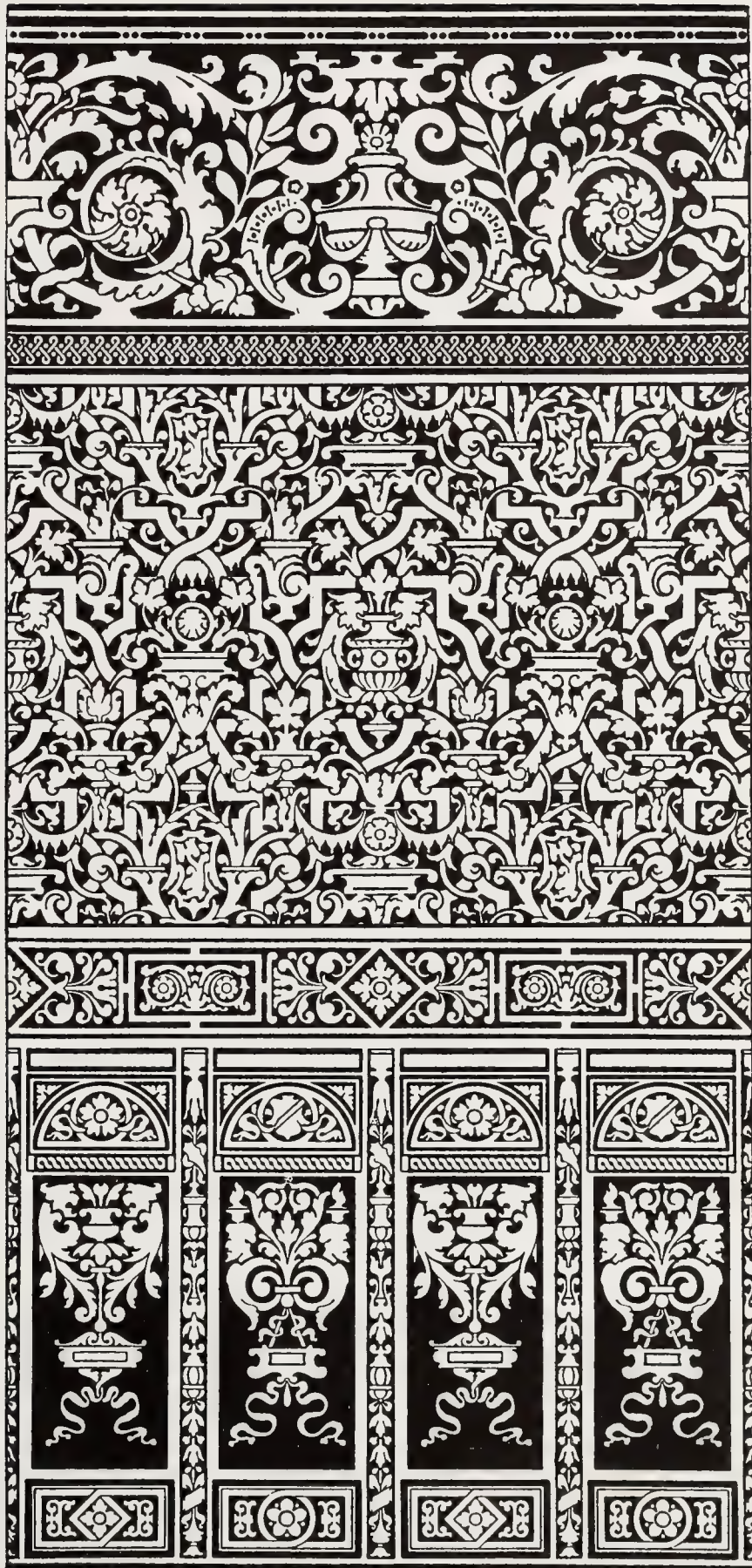


183. DADO, FILLING, FRIEZE, AND BORDER
 Designed by Lancaster, and machine-printed in 12 colours by
 Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. about 1892. Reduction, 1—6.



184. THE "QUEEN BESS"

A ruby "flock" and gold paper, designed by J. A. Gotch, and shown at the Paris Exhibition in 1889 by William Woollams & Co. Two widths of paper are required to show the "repeat" of 42 inches. (Permission, A. Sanderson & Sons). Reduction, 1—9.



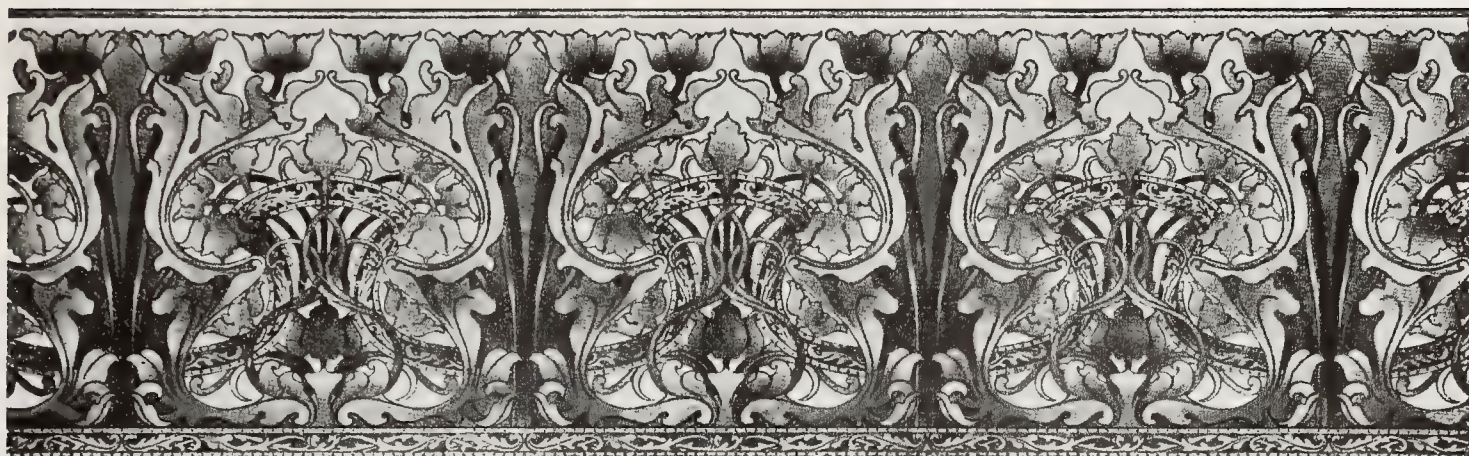
185. THE "KING'S COLLEGE"

Designed by Owen W. Davis, and reproduced by William Woollams & Co. in 1890.
(Permission, A. Sanderson & Sons). Reduction, 1—9.



186. THE "PEACOCK"

Produced by William Woollams & Co. A classical design of very large repeat. (Permission, A. Sanderson & Sons). Reduction, 1-8.



187. THE "ORIENT" FRIEZE

Designed by Arthur Barber, and produced by Hayward & Sons in 1894. Block and stencil. 21 inches deep. Reduction, 1—10.



188. THE "WELBECK" FRIEZE

Designed by E. F. Brewtnall, R.W.S., and produced by Hayward & Sons in 1895. Block and stencil 21 inches deep. Reduction, 1—12.



189. STENCILLED FRIEZE

Produced by Rottmann & Co. about 1895. Designed by Arthur Silver. Reduction, 1—9.



190. THE "PEACOCK" FRIEZE
Produced by Shand Kydd about 1900. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1—7.



191. THE "HALESOWEN" FRIEZE
Produced by Shand Kydd about 1900. Block and stencil. 19 inches deep. Reduction, 1—6.



192. THE "LIMA" FRIEZE
Produced by Shand Kydd about 1900. Block and stencil. 28 inches deep. Reduction, 1—9.



193. THE "WILD ROSE" FRIEZE

Designed by A. L. Gwatkin. Produced by Hayward & Son, 1885-1890. Block and stencil. 36 inches deep. Reduction, 1-14.



194. THE "FIG TREE" FRIEZE

Designed by A. L. Gwatkin. Produced by Hayward & Son, in 1890. Block and stencil. 28 inches deep. Reduction 1-11.



195. THE "RAVENNA" FRIEZE

Hand-stencilled. Produced by Shand Kydd in 1896. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1-8.



196. THE "HIGHWAY" FRIEZE

Designed by Graham Rice and produced by Essex & Co. in 1902. Block-printed. Reduction, 1—8.



197. "THE SEINE" FRIEZE

Designed by E. Covillot. Produced by Allan, Cockshut & Co. in 1907. Machine-printed in two operations, the background and the foreground being on rollers of different dimensions, so that there is naturally no "repeat." Reduction, 1—3.



198. THE "OUTLAW" FRIEZE

Designed by Patten Wilson. Produced by A. Sanderson & Sons in 1902. Block-printed. Reduction, 1—8.



199. THE "CLAUDE" TAPESTRY FRIEZE
Produced by A. Sanderson & Sons in 1900. Block-printed. Reduction, 1—8.



200. THE "GALLEON" FRIEZE
Designed by Patten Wilson. Produced by A. Sanderson & Sons in 1902. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1—8.



201. THE "PARTHENON" FRIEZE

Designed by T. R. Spence. Produced by Essex & Co. in 1902. Block-printed. 30 in. frieze. 58 in. repeat. Reduction, 1—8.



202. THE "VENETIAN" FRIEZE

Designed by George Fisher-Jones, and issued by J. Line & Sons in 1902. The subject contained a very large number of blocks, and was supplied practically without "repeat."



203. THE "SILENT POOL" FRIEZE

Designed by Graham Rice and produced by Essex & Co. in 1903. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1—5.



204. THE "ROMA" FRIEZE

Produced by Shand Kydd about 1900. Block and stencil. 26 inches deep. Reduction, 1—6.



205. THE "ARGOSY" FRIEZE
Produced by A. Sanderson & Sons in 1902. Block printed. Reduction, 1—5.



206. THE "FIR TREE" FRIEZE
Designed by H. W. Wild. Produced by A. Sanderson & Sons in 1902. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1—5.



207. THE "ARUNDEL" FRIEZE
Produced by Shand Kydd in 1903. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1—6.



208. THE "BARCLAY" FRIEZE
Produced by Shand Kydd in 1903. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1—6.



209. THE "LOUISE" FRIEZE

Designed by H. Napper. Produced by Rottmann & Co. in 1904. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1—7.



210. THE "IRENE" FRIEZE

Designed by H. Napper. Produced by Rottmann & Co. in 1904. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1—7.



211. THE "MOORLAND" FRIEZE

Designed by Shand Kydd. Issued about 1903-4, 20 to 22 inches deep. The design was produced by washing off the original ground colour through a stencil. Reduction, 1-6.

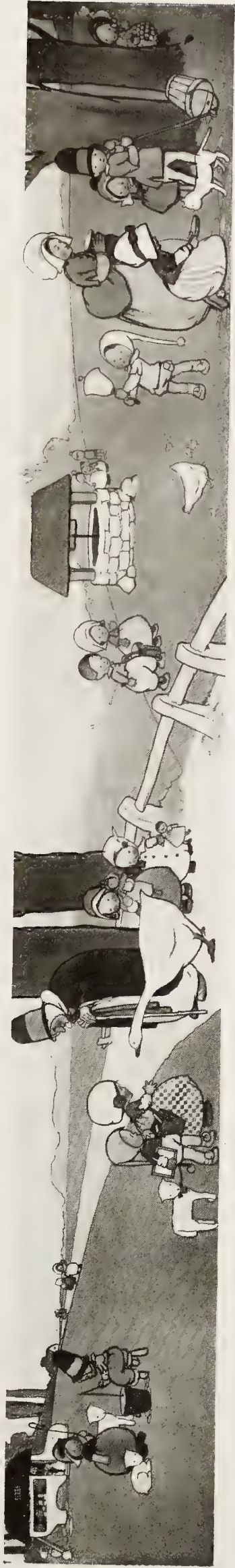


212. THE "BERTHAULT" ONE-OVER FRIEZE

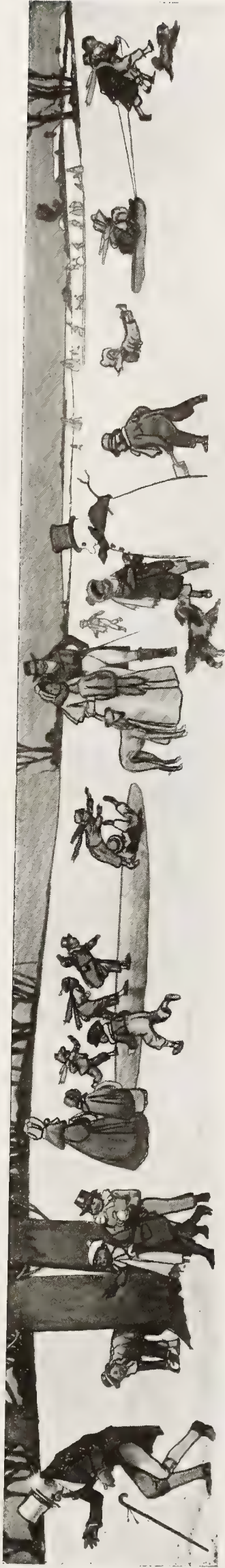
Produced by Essex & Co. in 1906. This type of "scaloped" frieze was the forerunner of the "cut-out." Machine-printed. Reduction, 1-4½.



213. THE "BO-PEEP" FRIEZE
Designed by Will Owen. Produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1910, from six engraved rollers. Reduction, 1-7.



214. THE "MOTHER GOOSE" FRIEZE
Drawn by Lucy Attwell. Produced by C. & J. G. Potter in 1913, from engraved rollers. Reduction, 1-7.



215. THE "WINTER SPORT" FRIEZE
Drawn by Lawson Wood. Produced by C. & J. G. Potter in 1912, from engraved rollers. Reduction, 1-7.



216, 217. THE "FARMYARD" FRIEZE
Designed by Cecil Aldin. Produced by A. Sanderson & Sons. Reductions, 1-8.

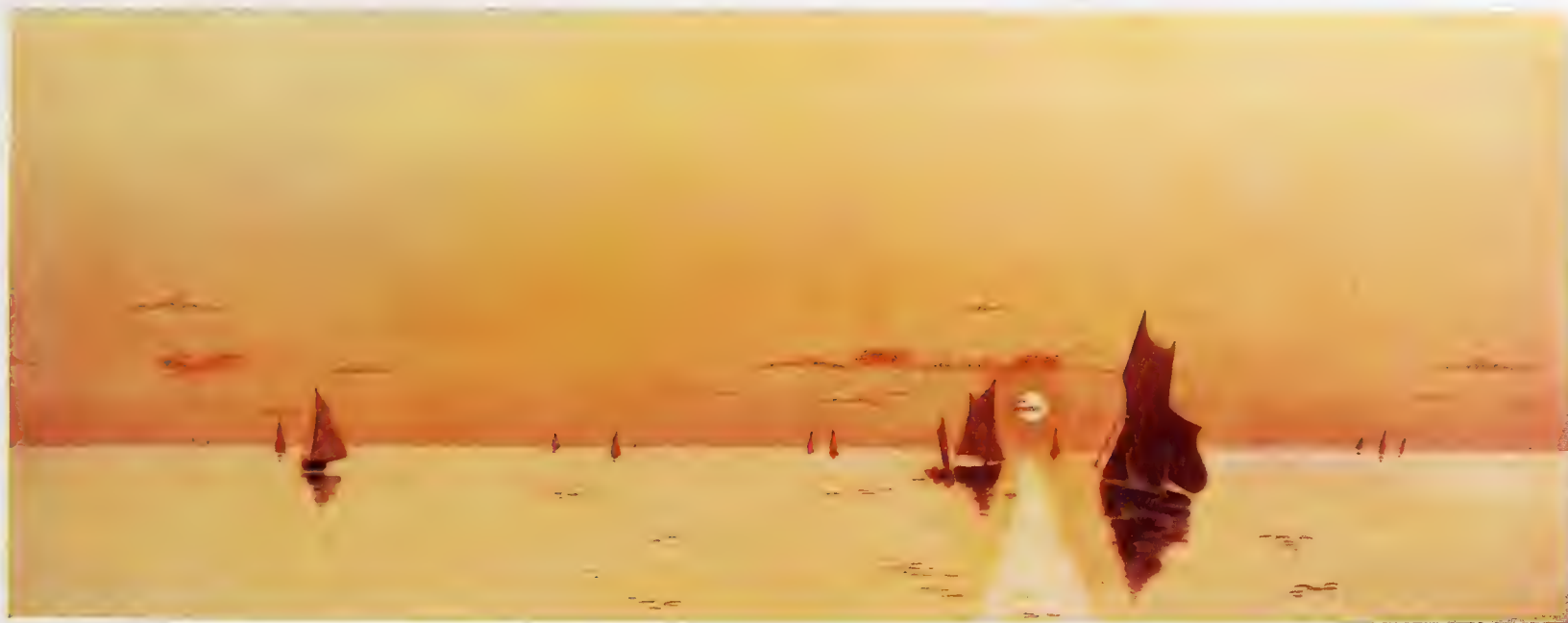


218, 219, THE "HUNTING" FRIEZE
Designed by Cecil Aldin. Produced by A. Sanderson & Sons. Reductions, 1-8.



220. THE "CANTERBURY" FRIEZE

Designed by G. Pretty. Produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1912, from six engraved rollers. Reduction, 1—10.



221. THE "TRAWLERS" STENCIL FRIEZE

Designed by J. Wood. Produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1906. Aerograph. $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards "repeat." Reduction, 1—7.



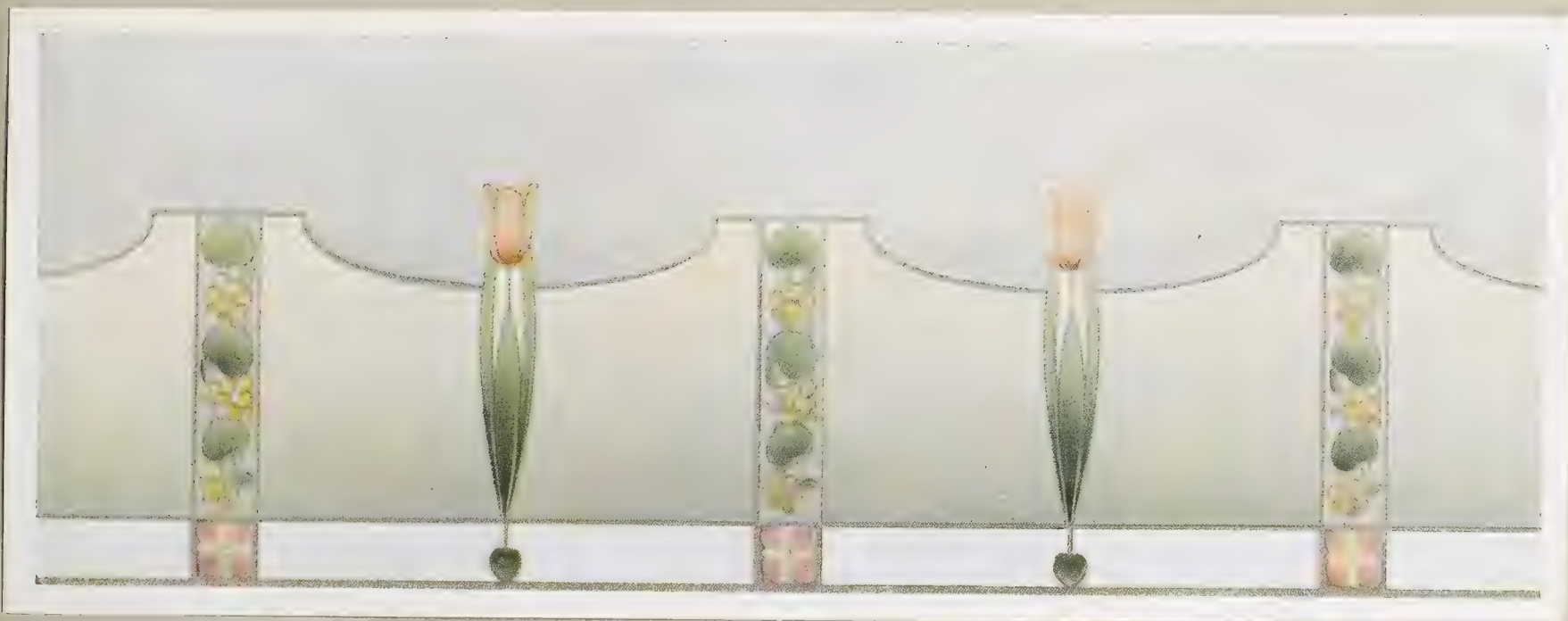
222. THE "BEDOUIN" STENCIL FRIEZE

Designed by J. Wood. Produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1907. Aerograph. $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards "repeat." Reduction, 1—7.



223. THE "ONTARIO" FRIEZE

Designed by G. R. Rigby. Produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1913. Machine and aerograph. Reduction, 1—7.



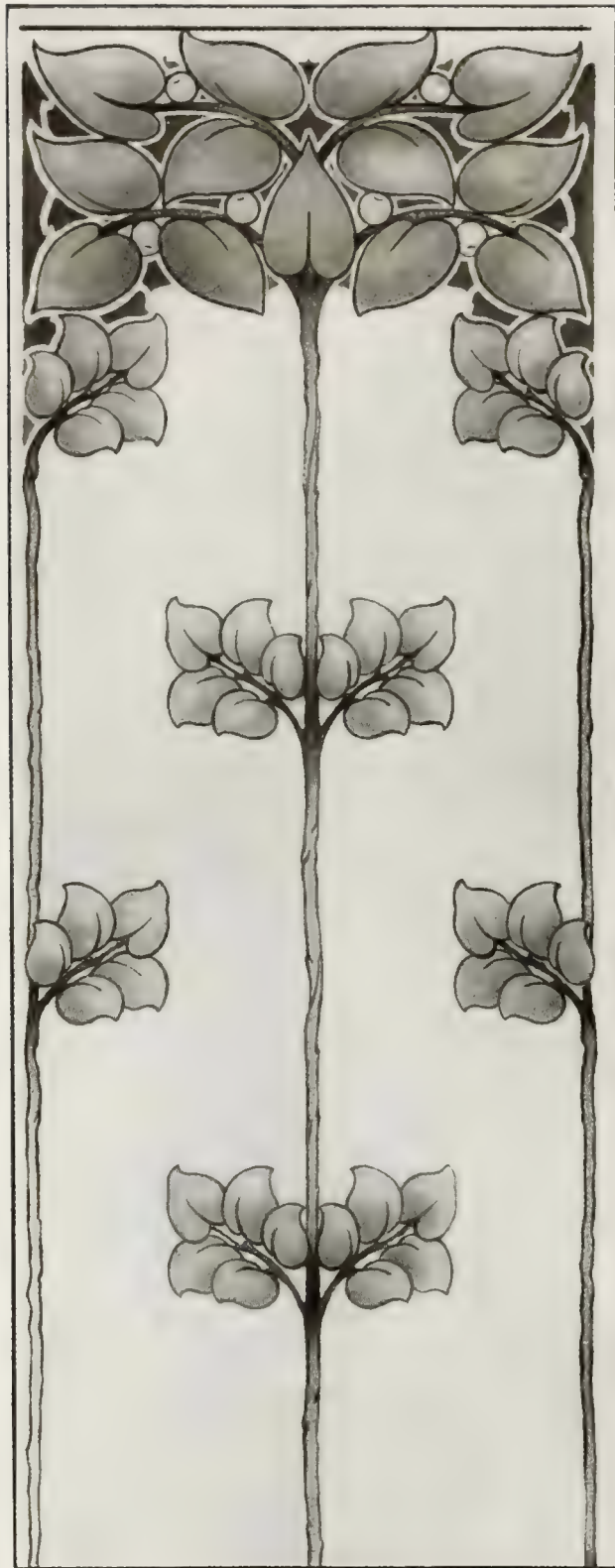
224. THE "STANLEY" FRIEZE

Designed by G. R. Rigby. Produced by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. in 1910. Machine and aerograph. Reduction, 1—7.



225. THE "ABERCORN"

Embossed leather decoration, designed by Lewis F. Day, and produced by Jeffrey & Co. in 1899. Reduction, 1—6.



226. THE "GRAHAM" CROWN FRIEZE AND FILLING
Produced by Scott, Cuthbertson & Co. in 1904 by hand, and
supplied in continuous lengths. Reduction, 1-7.



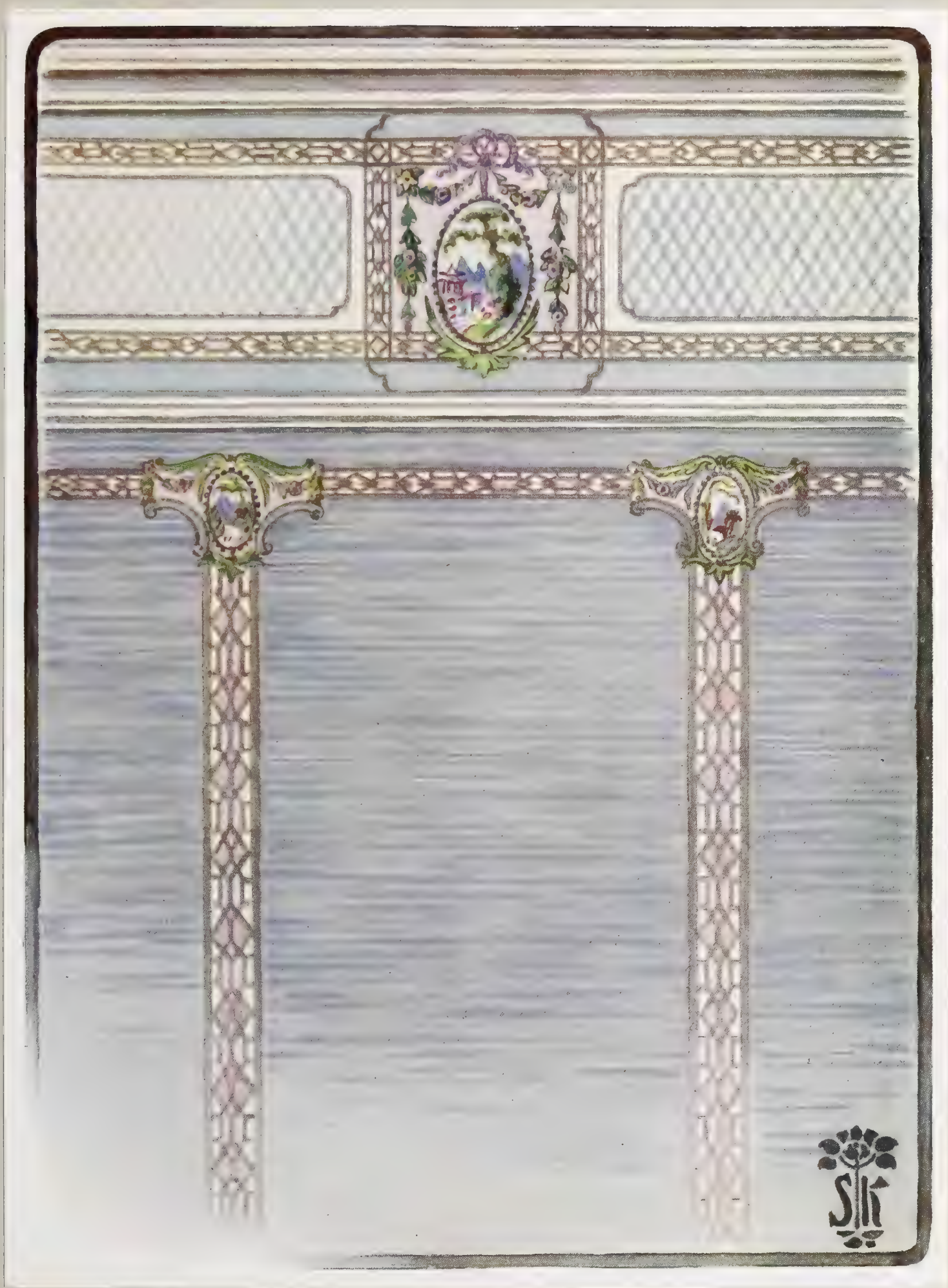
227. THE "ROSE AND TRELLIS"

Produced by Essex & Co. in 1907. Machine-printed. Reduction, 1—7.

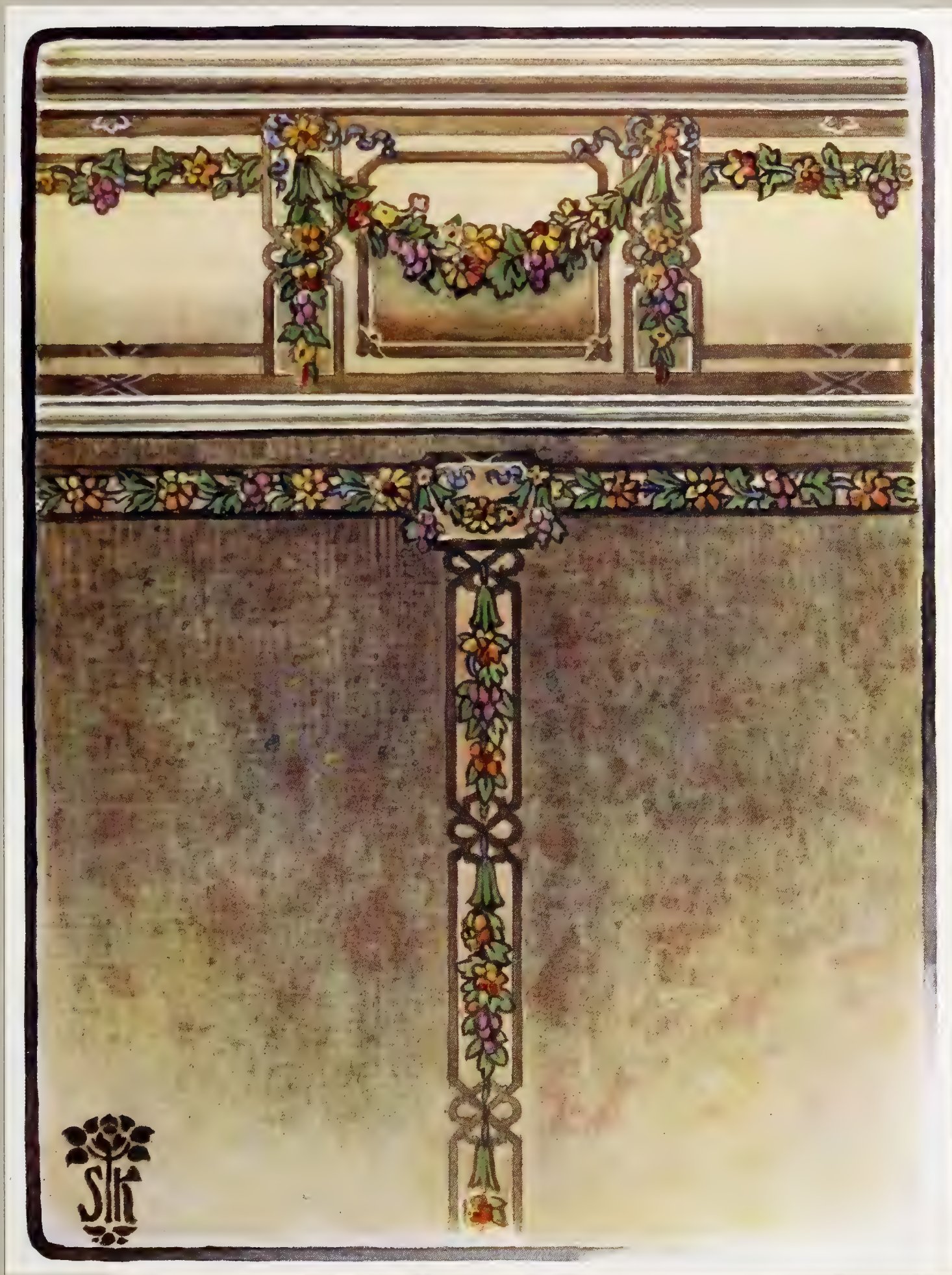


228. THE "UNION" DECORATION

Designed by Otto Jacob. Produced by Allan, Cockshut & Co. in 1913. Machine-printed. Reduction, 1—7.



229. THE "WILLOW" PATTERN
Issued by Shand Kydd in 1908. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1-8.



230. THE "CARNFORTH" DECORATION
Issued by Shand Kydd in 1908. Block and stencil. Reduction, 1—8.

MILL RECORDS

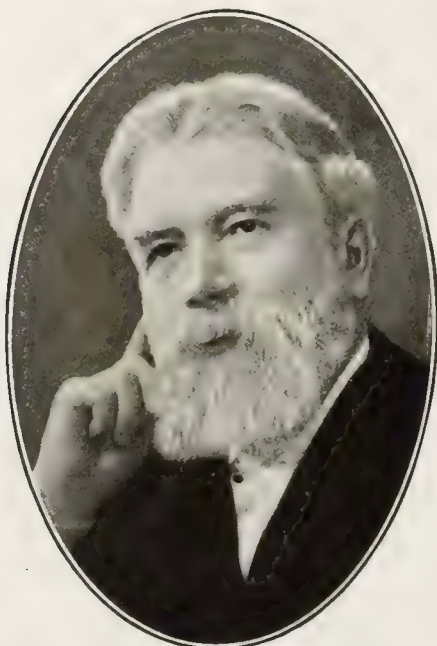
HISTORICAL NOTES ON WELL-KNOWN WALLPAPER FIRMS

The appended records of individual houses will no doubt be found to be of considerable interest to many readers. For the most part they are based on information supplied by the firms themselves. In some cases they overlap incidents or achievements touched on in the main story, but only to the extent necessary to avoid too bare or too disjointed an effect. On the other hand, where a firm's contributions to the development of wallpaper production have appeared to be already adequately covered in the main story, it has not been thought necessary to include any reference to them in these notes. Instances in point are Archer & Taverner (pages 131-2), Harwood & Co. (page 88), Chas. Norwood (pages 146-7), Pickering, Boyle & Graves (page 87), not to mention the more historical figures like John Baptist Jackson, Thomas Bromwich, Robson, Hale & Hawley, Crompton & Spinnage, the Eckhardts, John Sherringham, Morris & Company, and so on. Apart from these omissions the records, while not all-embracing, are sufficiently representative to present a bird's-eye picture of the activities of nearly every firm that has played a part of any importance in the evolution of English wallpaper, and particularly they afford an opportunity of doing justice to the achievement of many of the "fathers of the industry," whose personality and efforts are still within living memory.

ALLAN, COCKSHUT & CO.

THIS firm was founded by John Allan (or Allen, as it was sometimes spelt), in 1812, in partnership with William Parry, a paperhanger, of 55, Bow Lane, and commenced block-printing in a room in Hackney Road, in the east of London. It traded in the name of Parry & Allan until 1825, when the business was taken over by Allan, who later took into partnership his two sons, John and George, and the firm became known as John Allan & Son.

Following the introduction of rotary machine-printing the firm acquired two machines, and transferred its operations to a small factory on the banks of the River Lea at Old Ford, 1846-1847. Some idea of the industrial transformation of the City of London during the last century can be gathered from the fact that Old Ford was practically a country district at that time, and old prints show that John Allan's mill was snugly fronted on the river-side by trees and shrubs, the proprietor's house adjacent to the long two-storey factory having the aspect of a country cottage.



JOHN COCKSHUT

The trade expanded steadily, helped no doubt by the development of internal transport by means of the railway, the so-called "industrial revolution," and the cheapening of wallpaper as a consequence of the removal of the paper duty. It is an interesting fact that in the adoption of machine-printing by some of the old houses such as Allan's, Lightbown's, and Trumble's, the object was to make a cheap article for consumption by the masses and not by its means to undermine their high-class hand-work connections.

Inevitably the two grades grew closer together as years progressed, owing to the improvement in machine efficiency, with the result that price became more and more an important factor in relation to the hand-made article. It is said that about 1830 there were over 150 block-print houses manufacturing in England, but from the advent of the machine article they declined until in 1900 there were not more than a dozen surviving, Allan's amongst others having abandoned the process.

The desire to keep the two types separate and non-conflicting is reflected in the class of machine paper produced in these early years, which were cheap looking, crude and inartistic in every respect, whilst their hand-printed contemporaries were often works of art in design and colour, and always triumphs of craftsmanship in impression and register. The firm of Allan is believed to be the first to introduce a 20-colour surface-printing machine, and with it was produced a 20-colour begonia-leaf pattern designed in Paris, which won the Gold Medal at one of the early Paris Exhibitions.

In 1872, some time after John Allan's death, the need for more room to deal with an expanding business caused the firm to acquire the present site, which was formerly a gravel pit abutting on to the railway, previously used by George Allan as an asparagus bed in which he took a justifiable pride. It was not far removed from the old property, and an old employee used to relate how "the tears came in Mr. George's eyes" when he saw it destroyed.

A new and up-to-date mill was erected, containing four large machine-shops with the requisite drying rooms and secondary accommodation, and also with extensive stables, a feature of the business being prompt delivery by its own horses and carts in the City of London.

The firm exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, one of the exhibits being a "centre," a novelty in those days. (Plate 168).

John Allan the second died in 1876 and his brother George, who became sole proprietor, continued to prosper and accumulated a considerable fortune with which he retired in 1888, in which year he sold the business to the brothers Cockshut.

This event marks a very important occurrence in the trade history of the period, John and James Cockshut being, with the Huntingtons, Henry Lightbown and George Kirby, big figures in the machine-printed wallpaper expansion of the second half of the 19th century. They were as a combination wonderfully gifted by temperament and training to act as partners and complements to each other. John, a genial salesman, a shrewd diviner of policy and keen business man, and James, the artist, never so happy as when "striking off," designer, colourist, and no mean hand at mechanics.

John entered Potter's at Darwen as a mere child at the age of about eight, probably acting as rod boy or "tierer," and after a few years there, drifted into a cotton mill and then back again to Potter's, where he was joined by his younger brother, James.

When about twenty years of age they joined their uncle, Henry Lightbown, at Pendleton, and there passed through all the different phases of factory experience. (Some of their special achievements are recorded in the section devoted to Lightbown, Aspinall & Co.). James, as his gifts indicated, devoted himself to the designing side, and in his early days his passion for drawing on bits of waste-paper was the concern of the other employees who shook their heads and said that "Jimmy Cockshut was going to the devil fast." He spent all his evenings designing, just as his brother John occupied his leisure in thinking out fresh methods for attracting sales, and to both of them, as it has been to others, wallpaper production was not work, but their beloved hobby.



JAMES COCKSHUT

At both Pendleton and Old Ford to this day there are traditions about James Cockshut's enthusiasm in preparing for and following up each new design in its trials on the machine, his handling of the colour schemes and his ways with the colour mixers. His knowledge and taste in design and colour have been happily and faithfully reflected in his sons, Cheetham and Percy.

John ultimately was drafted from the factory at Pendleton to the newly-opened London warehouse in Cannon Street, where he took full control whilst continuing to supply his brother with suggestions and to collaborate with him on designs commissioned. John's son, Harry, was during this time coming to the front as a young salesman of exceptional promise and assisted his father in London, particularly with the shipping business. In 1888 they left Lightbown's to take command of the Allan factory, and the title of the firm was changed to Allan, Cockshut & Co.

A transformation took place at Old Ford, as the new owners were out for big business. Building on a large scale was begun, and soon the original mill was hidden by an immense structure nearly 400 feet long, comprising large warehouses for storage of both paper and paper-hangings, with a fireproof basement for print rollers. A sanitary machine-room was added later, superseding the printing elsewhere of private designs in these goods which had obtained in the Allan *régime*.



HARRY COCKSHUT

Corresponding changes were made on the commercial side, in all of which can be traced the hand of "Mr. John," whose sound business judgment did not fail him in the selection of men for his staff. The personal connection of the travellers was considered of the greatest importance. Harry Cockshut personally visited Australia and New Zealand to extend the firm's interests in those markets. It is recorded that the biggest single order ever booked up to that time was taken by him from a large Australian house.

The result of all these changes was an enormous increase in output. In a few years the staff increased from 140, taken over in 1888, to 600, and a transformation in quality also took place so that the firm's name became a synonym for high-grade goods throughout the trade.

In 1897 the firm bought up the rights of manufacture of the now well-known raised material, "Lignomur," which soon proved a most successful venture. This was followed by the making of "Old Ford Lincrusta," which a few years later was transferred to the "Lincrusta Walton" works at Sunbury.

The relations between the heads of the firm and the employés were always of the most cordial nature. In 1899 the business was merged into the Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., John, James and Harry Cockshut joining the board, and John being chairman of the company in its second year.

The great partnership between the brothers Cockshut came to an end in 1905 by the death of James, and John the survivor suffered an almost equally severe blow in 1909 in the death of his only son, Harry, who had been, in the unity of interest between them, an almost unique "understudy" and assistant, and he also was extremely successful in his handling of men.

John Cockshut continued to direct the Old Ford business, aided by his two nephews, Cheetham and Percy. His death in 1912 removed one, who until the loss of his son, had been one of the most virile figures in the industry. It was said of John that he was better known on the old L. & N.W. Railway than any member of its own directorate, so many and frequent were the journeys he took. Both he and his brother were famous collectors of china and of old prints and engravings, the magnificent collection of the former which was lent to the Franco-British Exhibition in 1908 at the White City, being an almost unique achievement for a private owner.

After John Cockshut's death, E. W. Walker, a very old and well-known servant of the firm, joined the younger Cockshuts on the board of the Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. His son, Howard, a most gifted designer and colourist, rendered valuable service during this period; but died of pneumonia shortly after the War started.

The products of the firm have ranged and still cover the whole gamut of grade and quality in wallpaper manufacture. Dresser, Haward, Townsend, Willcock, Napper, and the leading French designers have been contributors on the artistic side during the period when design, drawing and line were paramount in demand and fashion.

During the more recent days when natural flowers, "period" productions, and the subordination of design to colour have in turn swayed the vagaries of fashion, the firm has more than held its own in these directions, whilst from time to time it has done its share in the introduction of novelties and of contributions to the sheer art of the paper-stainer. In this connection attention is called to the "Seine" frieze (Plate 197), where an almost indefinitely long "repeat" is obtained by printing the background first on a set of large rollers of different size to those used for the foreground, which is printed as an after process.

Special collections of Oriental character have also been produced for the Eastern markets of India and China wherein the firm has always been deeply interested. An "Indian God" design is illustrated in Plate 169.

CARLISLE & CLEGG

HENRY Carlisle and William Clegg started in partnership in Essex Road, Islington, as block printers in the early part of the 19th century. They were both natives of Darwen and trained at Potter's. In 1850 they had a warehouse at 81, Queen Street, Cheapside, and dealt largely with Potter's, Lightbown, Aspinall & Co., and John Allan & Co. for machine goods. "Marbles" were used a good deal at this time. The warehouse was later removed to Great St. Thomas Apostle, Cheapside, and still later to Queen Victoria Street. In 1861, George Kirby joined the firm and a few years later was taken in, with Will Clegg the second, as junior partner. He was born in Stanmore, Middlesex, in 1848, his father being a local builder. His rise from office boy to ultimate proprietor is eloquent testimony to his honesty, hard work and perseverance.

Carlisle & Clegg exhibited at the International Exhibition in 1862 with other manufacturers. A factory was opened in Graham Street about 1880, and the first machine to be put down was a four-colour, driven direct like all the early installations, by a donkey-engine. Carlisle & Clegg at this time had their "sanitaries" made by Walker, Carver and Co., but in 1889 the sanitary process was installed at Graham Street. Shortly afterwards the City warehouse was closed, as it was found that the retail trade was seriously interfering with the development of the wholesale, and it was felt necessary to cultivate the latter. J. Kinder entered the service of the firm as traveller in 1886 and opened a warehouse for them in Manchester in 1888, to compete in deliveries with local manufacturers.



GEORGE KIRBY

Both H. Carlisle and W. Clegg, senior, died about 1888, and W. Clegg the younger four years later. After the death of his three partners, George Kirby had some difficulty in settling with three sets of executors, but, once the matter was out of the way, the business increased rapidly under his capable direction. In 1893 Carlisle & Clegg participated

in the purchase of Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith's rollers, and in 1899 the firm was taken over by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., George Kirby joining the board and the Manchester warehouse being closed.

In 1903 the business was transferred to Derby, into new premises rebuilt on the site of the disastrous Wilkins' fire, the Wilkins' connection going to Golborne. George Kirby's services being utilised increasingly at the head offices of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., the management of the factory passed into the hands of his two sons, Richard and Charles, who had come into the business as boys, the former on the commercial and the latter on the technical side.

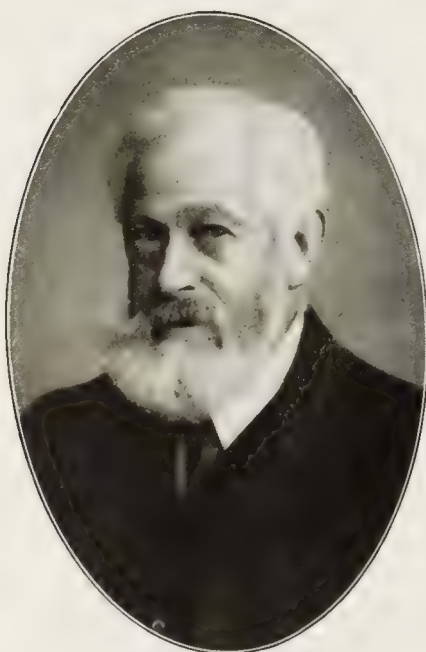
George Kirby, who died in 1919, had been a great figure in the trade and was distinguished for his straightforward honesty, his downrightness and love of calling a spade a spade, and for his genial kindly disposition. He was very fond of country life, loved horses and shooting, and in other times and circumstances would have been an ideal "country squire."

Amongst well-known figures in the trade employed by Carlisle & Clegg were F. Aston, one of the oldest travellers on the road, who spent all his life with the firm and died in their employ after 43 years' service; J. Kinder, who left them in 1908 to commence a mill of his own at Irlam, near Manchester; F. Ellingham, the designer; W. Bailey, and E. E. Tayler, their Australian agent, who married a daughter of F. J. Spurway, another old paper-stainer, in Stoke Newington.

The firm carried off honourable trophies at the following Exhibitions:—Sydney, 1879, Bronze Medal, First Degree of Merit; Melbourne, 1880, Silver Medal, First Order of Merit; Melbourne, 1888, Silver Medal, First Order of Merit.

COTTERELL BROS., LTD.

THIS very old-established house of block and stencil printers and dealers in wallpaper was founded in 1844 by the two brothers, F. F. and J. F. Cotterell, and from 1844 they have been manufacturers of block-printed wallpapers at Bristol and Bath. Manufactures up to 1870 followed much the French or Empire styles, consisting of fillings in close patterns, moiré, gold and other designs. They also specialised in borders from 1850, and their stilings and corners (very much after the fashion of the present day) were extremely popular, many of these designs showing French influence. They were amongst the first to print imitations of wood such as oak, maple, etc., representing panelling or for use as fillings with panel borders, resembling wood mouldings. These panel effects had a great vogue, and a wide vine-leaf border used in panelling schemes also had a large sale.



FREDERICK F. COTTERELL

From 1849 the firm had branches in Bristol, Bath and London, and their manufactures received numerous awards, notably at London Exhibition 1851, Bristol 1865, Melbourne 1888, Cardiff 1888, Chicago 1893.

They were amongst the first to see the advantages and possibilities of the permission then given to use and print paper in continuous lengths, and their premises in Bristol contained

a very complete block-printing plant, including machines for staining, grounding, polishing, gilding, and blocking. In 1849 the printing of wallpaper by machinery had not reached a great stage of perfection, and the better-class wallpapers were all block-printed goods.

The firm supplemented their own manufactures by large imports from abroad, principally France, and at one time occupied the position of the third largest importers of foreign goods into England as shown by the Customs Duty Returns. The pioneer work they achieved was amply rewarded by the position they soon gained and have since maintained in the trade.

In 1897 the firm supplied a large number of papers to Queen Victoria for use on the Osborne Estate. On this occasion the Duke of Connaught was so pleased with the assortment sent for selection that he chose a number of papers for his house at Bagshot Park.

The firm still continue to manufacture high-grade hand-made wallpapers, having added the stencil process to the block-printing about 1894. Their set of friezes, borders, stilings and other decorations remains a very popular one, and continues to keep well ahead of the times, in spite of the fact that machine-printing has reached a high pitch of perfection and can produce wallpapers very much more cheaply than the hand-printed process.

DONCASTER PAPER STAINING CO.

THIS concern was registered as a limited company by S. Morris in 1910 and commenced manufacturing the following year. It contented itself with sound medium-grade goods, economically produced and reasonably priced.

The factory is a very modern one and has recently been extended. In 1915 it was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., S. Morris joining the directorate. Shortly after this event Haviland Davies was appointed head of the designing staff, with the responsibility of colouring and producing the set of patterns.

S. Morris, like other well-known paper-stainers, has always taken a great part in the civic and social life of his town, having been councillor, alderman, and mayor successively. He is a magistrate and also a well-known sportsman, to whom horses have been a hobby most of his life. He is a member of the Race Course Committee at Doncaster.

JOHN DUNN & SON

THE Newcastle portion of this business is said to have been established in 1760, probably changing hands many times. In 1833 it was in the hands of Richard Goodlad & Co., Thornton Street, and the manufacture consisted of block-printed papers, "granites," etc., all made in yard sheets and subject to Government stamping and duty in accordance with the custom and law of the day.

About 1838, or even earlier, the manufacturing connection passed into the hands of Andrew Annandale, the son of John Annandale, a paper-maker who is believed to have invented a machine for winding "long elephant" into 12-yard pieces which commanded a ready sale in London. Local tradition credits Annandale with being a pioneer in machine-printing.

The business shortly afterwards passed to Falconer & Co., paper-makers, Scotswood. During this period Richard Goodlad & Co. had moved to Clayton Street, where they continued till about 1865, when their business together with the one at Thornton Street passed into the hands of Weatherhead & Dunn, later John Dunn & Son.

In 1875 Dunn's purchased the Edinburgh business of Gavin, Goalen & Halliday, makers of "stamped golds," "blocks," "marbles," and "oaks." In 1880 the machinery and plant at Edinburgh were removed to Newcastle, and the same year John Dunn took out a patent for "flocking" size to be applied prior to the application of sawdust. The resultant product was called "Lignus Fibrae."

In 1893 the whole manufacturing plant was concentrated at the new works, Elswick Place, Newcastle, where machine-printing and grounding, block-printing, the production of "stamped golds," "marbles," "flocks," and the speciality, "Lignus Fibrae," were carried on. In 1899 the works were sold to The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., and a merchant's business pure and simple was continued at Newcastle and Edinburgh, which in 1902 was acquired by John Line & Sons.

DUPPA—COWTAN—CRACE

IN 1791 J. Duppa opened a paper-hanging warehouse in 39, Bow Lane, Cheapside, moving to 42, Lombard Street two years later. It is probable that about this time manufacturing was commenced both of block-printed goods and of "marbles," for in 1797 we find the description "manufacturer" appended in the Directory of that year, the address being 34, Old Broad Street.

About 1805 a branch establishment was opened in 314, Oxford Street, to which shortly afterwards the whole business was transferred. In 1812 the title was changed to Duppa and Slodden, and in 1823 to Duppa, Slodden & Collins. In 1838 the name became Duppa & Collins and remained unchanged until 1862, although Mawer Cowtan had joined the firm in 1833.

In 1862, Mawer Cowtan was joined by a gentleman named Purdie, of Edinburgh, and the name of the firm was known from that date as Purdie, Cowtan & Co., and always with the addition of "late Duppa & Co." In 1868 Purdie retired, and Mawer Cowtan took Manooch into partnership. The firm was then known as Cowtan & Manooch " (late Duppa & Co.)." Manooch retired in 1872 when Mawer Cowtan took into partnership his two sons, Mawer Cowtan Cowtan, who joined the firm in 1863, and Frank Cowtan (both now dead), and the business became known as Cowtan & Sons, of 314, Oxford Street (re-numbered in 1882 as 309, Oxford Street). At a later period, namely, in 1881, A. Barnard Cowtan, youngest son of Mawer Cowtan, was taken into partnership, but the business continued in the name of Cowtan & Sons with the addition of "Limited."

In 1921 this very old business was transferred to new premises, 18, Grosvenor Gardens, Westminster, S.W., where the management is in the hands of A. Barnard Cowtan and of his son, A. Leslie Cowtan. The actual printing of the firm's private design papers from the original blocks continued to be carried out until 1862, and is still controlled by them.

Throughout its history the firm has specialised in house decoration on the most classical lines. A speciality has always been the provision of real Chinese and real Japanese papers which have been supplied to most of the historic mansions of Great Britain by the firm.

In 1899 a very interesting event took place in the absorption of the Crace business in Wigmore Street. This very old-established decorative house was founded by Edward Crace in 1750, he being then 25 years of age. In 1780 he was appointed curator of pictures in the Royal Palaces, and the same year was joined by his son, John Crace (born 1754).

Amongst the Craces' patrons were George III and the then Prince of Wales, and amongst other public buildings decorated by them were the Opera House, Drury Lane, Covent Garden Theatre, and Carlton House.

Edward Crace died in 1799. In 1819 John Crace died and was succeeded by his son, Frederick, who was later employed in decorating the well-known Royal Pavilion at Brighton and also at Windsor Castle.

In 1826 John Gregory Crace (born 1809), son to Frederick, joined the firm, and shortly afterwards they established themselves at Wigmore Street. John Gregory Crace travelled abroad and became a recognized authority on decorative art. In 1839 he delivered two lectures on The History and Manufacture of Paper-hangings to the R.I.B.A., which are the earliest attempts at chronicling this subject. In 1848 he was chosen by the Government, on the recommendation of Sir Chas. Barry, to execute the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament, and the wallpaper designs of Augustus Welby Pugin were cut for him and printed by Samuel Scott (later Scott, Cuthbertson & Co.). John Gregory Crace died in 1889 and was succeeded by his son, John Diblee Crace, who had been associated with the firm for some years prior to this event.

It does not seem certain that the Craces were actually manufacturers in their later years, but they had an excellent range of private designs which passed into the hands of Cowtan & Sons when the business was absorbed by the latter, and still remain as their private property. Numerous examples of the productions of the two houses are illustrated earlier in this volume.

ESSEX & CO.

THIS firm was founded in 1887 by R. Walter Essex whose trade training in the wall-paper industry was very varied, as his record shows:—

1874, as a youth employed by the London builders and decorators, George Trollope & Sons. 1875-6, with Corbière, Son & Brindle, the London branch of a French textile and wallpaper firm of merchants. 1877-8, as a manager and salesman with the merchant firm of Chas. Knowles & Co., of Chelsea. 1879, as a traveller for Heywood, Higginbottom Smith & Co., Ltd., of Hyde Road, Manchester and London, an old-established firm of wallpaper printers. 1880, transferred to the firm of Scott, Cuthbertson & Co., wallpaper printers and dealers, of Chelsea. 1882-5, accepted a partnership in the firm of Chas. Knowles & Co., who shortly after purchased the factory of William Cunnington & Co., of Park Walk, Chelsea, where a fine line of hand-made goods was produced. This factory, prior to its possession by Cunnington's, had been owned by Godwin's for some years. In the new firm's style it was known and traded as Knowles & Essex and so remained until, on R. W. Essex separating from the firm, it became absorbed into the business of Chas. Knowles & Co.

At the commencement, Essex & Co. were content to trade as wallpaper merchants for a few years, with private patterns printed by different manufacturers, but in 1891 a freehold site was purchased on Lavender Hill, Battersea, and the Essex Mills were erected thereon.



SIR WALTER ESSEX

Here R. W. Essex surrounded himself with several designers whose united contributions resulted in a distinctly new note being given to the industry, the influence of which spread widely, and also necessitated an almost annual addition to the building and its equipment for some years. Amongst these designers, some of whose services were wholly reserved, were C. F. A. Voysey, George C. Haité, Thomas R. Spence, Lindsay P. Butterfield, and Albert Baker. The production consisted of both machine and hand-printed goods, and a most important department was that of stencilling. Amongst the stencil friezes was a wonderful landscape known as "The Silent Pool" (Plate 203), by F. Graham Rice, who took charge of the stencil department for some years, to be followed later by J. Illingworth Kay.

In 1899 Essex Mills passed with most of the other wallpaper factories into the control of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., the founder's services as manager being retained for some years at Battersea.

In 1906 R. W. Essex entered Parliament, first for the Eastern Division of Gloucestershire and later for the ancient Borough of Stafford. In 1913 he received the honour of Knighthood, and in 1918 retired from Parliament after twelve years' service therein. The Municipal Council of the Borough, in 1918, presented their late M.P. with the honorary freedom of the borough, and with a richly illuminated certificate in a silver casket.

Amongst well-known employés of Essex Mills were James Thomas, the designer, who came from Wylie & Lochhead, Ltd., of Glasgow; J. Dixon, a son of one of the partners in Walkden & Dixon which failed in 1891; Peter Garrick, formerly with Wylie & Lochhead; also Percy H. Heffer and Edward Speed.

The Battersea works were closed at the outbreak of the War, and the personnel, rollers and connection transferred to other mills. The showrooms and distributing business in Victoria Street were acquired by Arthur Sanderson & Sons, Ltd.

GREEN & ABBOTT

THIS firm started business in 1888 at 473, Oxford Street, as decorators and upholsterers, and shortly afterwards opened a studio for the production of stencilled wallpapers and wall-coverings, and curtain materials. In or about 1900 the concern was turned into a private limited company.

About the year 1905 they began the restoration and copying of Old English and Chinese wallpapers, and in this branch of manufacture enjoy an almost unique position, employing a large staff which executes these *fac-similes* entirely by hand without mechanical aids. They removed from Oxford Street to 123, Wigmore Street, in 1923.

HAYWARD & SON, LTD.

ONE of the oldest firms in London. Originally established as builders, decorators and plumbers sometime in the 17th century, this firm actually assisted at the building of St. Paul's Cathedral, carrying out lead work to the roof under Sir Christopher Wren. A member of the family, until recently the chairman of the present company, has, amongst his treasured possessions an autograph letter from Wren written to the firm at the time in connection with the work.

Somewhere in the earlier half of the 19th century the firm entered the wallpaper trade. Always inclined to be specialists they first of all produced what was then, and still is, the best collection of ecclesiastical wallpapers ever put together. The printing blocks for this collection were, in the late seventies, divided between two partners who then dissolved partnership.

The narrow limits of ecclesiastical patterns only sufficed for a short time, and about 1880 a much wider development occurred. The help of a number of designers—all men eminent in their profession—was enlisted, amongst whom were John Belcher, R.A., Prof. Beresford Pite, Arthur Gwatkin, Walter A. Tarrant, with others, the majority of whom were architects, and thus experts in decoration. With the design so obtained a definite plan was launched and successfully carried out, that of creating and manufacturing a distinctive and unique class of wall decoration, which formed the basis of the exclusive style and *genre* of this house.

Until this time the method of manufacture followed had been entirely hand block-printing. It was at this juncture that stencilling as applied to modern wallpaper was first introduced, Hayward & Son having the honour of being the original introducers and pioneers of this branch which has since become so important and integral a part of the trade.

The stencilling method was, in the first place, applied mainly to wide friezes, the vogue for which was zealously cultivated by this firm, who had a range of designs varying in width from 4 ft. down to 10½ in. Always aiming at the highest possible standard of excellence it was the custom of their designers to send designs annually to the Royal Academy, and for a number of years they were continually represented on the walls at the annual exhibition.

After hand-stencilled friezes and borders came fillings produced by the same method, and in order to obviate what was bound to follow, namely, the difficulty of hanging several lengths of paper entirely shaded by hand without showing the variation in shading, incidental to hand work, a "patent joint" was introduced. The trimming of the edges of the paper, instead of being straight, was made to follow the curved line of the pattern, the designs in these cases being so arranged that this curved trimming line should not cut too far into the width of the paper, but should follow reasonably close to the edge.

Whilst stencilling, as applied to friezes, was quite a commercial proposition, the same method when used for the whole of the wall (fillings), on account of expense, somewhat restricted its popularity, so that block-printing still remained the staple method followed by the firm for the production of their wallpapers. But whether by block or 'stencil, the Hayward productions have always been executed by hand methods pure and simple, and they have fostered and preserved the old artistic features in every possible way.

Another fact regarding this house, which probably cannot be said of any other wallpaper manufacturer, is that up till 1894 their factory was in the heart of the City of London. In 1894 it was removed to Islington. The firm was converted into a private limited company in 1911.

By the unique quality and nature of their designs, by the introduction of stencilling into modern wallpaper manufacturing, as well as by the initiation of other new methods such as the blending of several different colours into one variegated ground; methods commenced by hand process, but now followed throughout the trade by the much more rapid method of machine production, the firm has had a large share of influence on the present position of the art and craft side of the manufacture of wall decoration.

HEYWOOD, HIGGINBOTTOM & SMITH

THIS firm held a great place in the trade in the "Sixties" and "Seventies." It was founded in Hyde Road, Manchester, by Alderman Abel Heywood, who supplied the capital, and two young artisan partners, Robert Smith and John Higginbottom, about 1846. Smith alone held previous practical knowledge of wallpaper manufacture, having been trained at Darwen.

The firm obtained a Gold Medal at the Great Exhibition in 1851, in London, for "Patterns whereon were printed 20 colours made by 14 rollers" and exhibited at the Melbourne Exhibition in 1881.

At its zenith the firm was one of the largest, and to its competitors the most formidable in the trade, making all grades of goods, including "blocks" and hand-made "marbles." In 1859 the firm's output was so large that it paid £20,000 in paper duty and sent out three million pieces. The partners found it necessary to make their own paper and established a large mill for this purpose at Arden, near Stockport. In 1861 the concern was turned into a limited company, with Abel Heywood as chairman of the directors.

Three patents are recorded in the name of the firm, the first one in 1858 by Abel Heywood for "suspending paper after printing to dry same," the second in 1864 by Robert Smith and Jabez Booth for "certain improvements in the manufacture of paper-hangings" in connection with satin printing, and the third in 1869 by Robert Smith and John Higginbottom for "damping or steaming before printing."

The celebrated decorative artist, John Thomas, was with the firm for three years in charge of the studio. He was given special privileges as to time-keeping and was once the cause of a deputation of protest from other quarters. Robert Smith's only response was to take Thomas away with him to Southport for a fortnight's pleasure trip.

Probably the firm's greatest achievement was its development of the "sanitary" or engraved roller process in the early "Seventies." "The Journal of Design and Manufacture" for 1849 contains two actual samples of "imported" wallpapers printed with engraved rollers, one a stippled effect and the other a muslin background, so that the process, analogous to calico-printing, was evidently known on the Continent at an earlier date.

These papers have a washable surface, the design being engraved on copper rollers and transferred to the paper in oil colour under pressure with a stippled effect, entirely unlike the older surface process with its water-colours lightly lodging on the top of the paper. The printing machine used was an adaptation of the calico-printing machine. The earliest effort was in the form of paper blinds, an imitation Venetian being a great success. This led to an attempt at the imitation of oak planks, which, whether originally intended or not, were used on walls, later developing into geometrical designs, flower patterns, dados, etc., all of course limited to one colour. In spite of initial difficulties with engraving and with "shadiness," the "sanitary" goods increased in popularity, and in 1891 Fred Higginbottom claimed that they were "rapidly displacing goods manufactured by the old process."

Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith had a London warehouse in Watling Street from which they moved in 1891 to 94, Queen Victoria Street, and amongst their employees are numbered: R. W. Essex, G. W. Osborn, Chas. Firth, C. A. Sinclair, W. H. Arnott, John Walker, and other names familiar to the trade. A warehouse was opened in West George Street, Glasgow, in 1885.

After Smith's death the production deteriorated, and in spite of the efforts of Fred Higginbottom a gradual decline set in which culminated in financial reconstruction, the actual title of the firm being altered to "Heywood, Higginbottom, Smith & Co., Limited and Reduced."

Just prior to this event a manufacturer at Bolton named Leigh had made a little stir with a line of cheap water-fast goods called "Celloleums" (it was an after treatment). He was a shareholder in Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith, obtained control and issued a "Celloleum" set from Hyde Road. This effort, however, was of no avail and the collapse came in 1893, when the Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith rollers were bought by W. B. Huntington on behalf of the "Big Four"—Potter's, Lightbown's, Cockshut's, and Carlisle & Clegg's—who divided them up. A portion of the plant was bought by Osborn & Shearman and Potter's took over the stock and also the Arden Paper Mill. Abel Heywood died in 1893.

HINCHLIFF—SCOTT, CUTHBERTSON & CO.— PERCY HEFFER & CO.

THIS business, which has changed hands and title several times, was founded in 1796 by a master of his craft, a block-printer, one Nathaniel Hinchliff, at "Whitelands" Works, Chelsea, the name being that of a private house in large grounds which originally occupied the site. The first production of wallpaper on the premises was actually earlier still, as the great wallpaper house of Eckhardt was established at "Whitelands" some years before Hinchliff, having moved there from another site in Chelsea. It is noteworthy that Chelsea has been remarkable as a centre of paper-staining for over 100 years.

In 1824, the style of the firm was Cooke & Hinchliff, 13, Panton Square. In 1826 Cooke's name falls out and the firm was changed to Hinchliff & Matthews. In 1829, Thomas Cuthbertson was apprenticed by his mother to the firm and the indenture (reproduced on page 207) contains some amusing covenants, such as that the apprentice undertakes not to "contract matrimony, play at cards, dice tables or any other unlawful games." Thomas Cuthbertson was born in 1814, of Scottish parents, who had moved from Edinburgh to Chelsea on their marriage in 1797. Later he left Hinchliff to enter the paper-staining works of Samuel Scott who had been established in Lower Belgrave Place since about 1832, and for whom he afterwards travelled the North of England and Scotland.



THOS. CUTHBERTSON

In 1832 or a little earlier, Matthews apparently dropped out and the name was changed to Hinchliff & Co., 13 Panton Square and Marlboro' Road, Chelsea. In 1838 another change of name is recorded, viz., Nathaniel Hinchliff & Co., 24, Golden Square and Marlboro' Road, Chelsea. In 1846, the address of Nathaniel Hinchliff & Co. stands as 123, Wardour Street and Chelsea. Two specimens of the firm's work, taken from "The Journal of Design and Manufacture" of 1849 and 1851, are shown in Plates 91 and 93.

About this time interesting developments had been taking place in the business of Samuel Frederick Scott, Thomas Cuthbertson being made a "travelling partner" in 1846, and the name being shortly afterwards changed to Scott, Cuthbertson & Co.

In 1851 amongst the paper-stainers exhibiting at the Crystal Palace were "Nathaniel Hinchliff & Co., 123, Wardour Street," and "Scott, Cuthbertson & Co., Pimlico." The latter's exhibits included a simple and handsome Tudor panelling, whilst the former displayed a fine pilaster decoration (Plate 100).

The "Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue" refers to the latter exhibit as follows:—

"When Raffælle was embellishing with his immortal pencil the walls of the Vatican, he, perhaps, had little idea what a legacy he was leaving for the use of future decorators, not alone for actual copyists, but for those to whom his beautiful designs served as suggestions to be moulded into whatever forms may be required. The two engravings illustrated . . . are from a decorative panel exhibited by Messrs. Hinchliff & Co., of London: they are of genuine Raffælesque character, and that is sufficient to attest their excellence."

Some years prior to this time Augustus Welby Pugin had designed his celebrated wall-papers for the House of Commons, which were printed by block at Scott's for John Gregory Crace, the decorative artist, who was recommended for the work by Sir Chas. Barry (Plates 85-6). Scott himself was an excellent designer and much of his work was produced by Scott, Cuthbertson & Co., from time to time.

In 1858 Scott, Cuthbertson & Co. were still at Lower Belgrave Place, and Hinchliff & Co. at 15, Piccadilly and "Whitelands," Chelsea. It was apparently between the periods 1851 and 1861 that Scott, Cuthbertson & Co. introduced raised "flocks," the relief being obtained by successive layers, an invention of Samuel Scott.

In 1859 Scott, Cuthbertson & Co. took over the "Whitelands" works, their old factory in Belgrave Place being acquired with other property to form the site of Victoria Station, and from this time onwards Nathaniel Hinchliff's name disappears. In the winter of 1861-2 a serious fire occurred, but the business suffered no set-back.

Competition as to price hardly then existed and the efforts of the firm were centred in bringing their productions to the utmost perfection. It is said that the fame of Scott, Cuthbertson & Co.'s craft reached the most exalted quarters and that King Edward, as a youth, was on several occasions a visitor at the old "Whitelands" works, which fact accounted for the permission to use the Prince of Wales' feathers as a trade mark. Thomas Cuthbertson was a very religious man, very generous to all philanthropic causes, and it was his practice to visit the Methodist chapels in various towns whilst on journey and to preach on Sundays. He became president of the Local Preachers' Mutual Aid Association in 1869. Except between 1846 and 1859, when he resided in Pimlico, he lived all his life at Chelsea. He had a very genial personality and was an excellent business man. He died suddenly in a railway carriage whilst travelling in the North for his firm in 1875, aged 61 years.

In many of the old blocks belonging to the firm can be traced some of the important events in European history. A number of borders and fillings are of French drawing and were cut during the war of 1870, to print paper-hangings that could no longer be imported from France.

In 1885 William Scott took out a patent for applying mica to grounding and for preparing the mica by burning in furnaces. In 1890 the firm dissolved partnership and the surviving partners retired, "Whitelands" works being sold to the Earl of Cadogan and closed. The connection with the name was continued by two of the travellers, Turner

and Watkinson, who opened a shop in Sloane Square and carried on block-printing in Markham Street. In 1892 the workshop was transferred to 13, King's Road, Chelsea. In 1903 the firm received the order for the re-decoration of York House when King Edward selected the principal decorations, and in 1905 they obtained a similar order for the Royal Pavilion, Aldershot. At the Building Exhibition at Olympia in 1911 Scott, Cuthbertson & Co. displayed a fine collection of Old Gothic wallpapers designed by Pugin, many being coloured to the artist's original schemes.

About 1912 the business was acquired by Percy Heffer & Co., and the style changed to Heffer, Scott & Co. The showrooms shortly afterwards were removed to Newman Street, W. Percy H. Heffer was a man of considerable and varied experience, having been trained with Essex & Co. Shortly after the war commenced, Louis Stahl was appointed chief designer and considerable developments followed in block-printing. Stahl was particularly happy in Oriental subjects and had a fine colour sense.

HOLMES CHAPEL WALL PAPER CO.

THIS firm was founded in 1911 by G. F. Jackson, formerly with Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. and originally with David Walker, and J. T. Walker who had previous experience at Allan, Cockshut & Co., Walker & Carver's, and Claremont.

The factory at Holmes Chapel was specially built and laid out on the most modern lines. Shortly after the appearance of their first productions, they introduced a novelty in "Crown Decorations," *i.e.*, filling and frieze combined, printed in continuous lengths by surface process. This was a patent process devised by G. F. Jackson and carried out by William Pickup, the engineer, who was responsible for the general equipment. The effect was extremely good, but success was limited by the swing of fashion in the direction of plain friezes and panellings.

G. F. Jackson, to whose achievements other references are made in the David Walker and Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. records, was not only a very gifted designer, but had a fine and true colour-sense, which was and is still a pillar of strength to the factory. His refined taste and avoidance of extremes has always been reflected in the designs produced by the firm.

The Holmes Chapel factory was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1915, G. F. Jackson and J. T. Walker joining the directorate. Since that date the factory has been considerably extended, the developments including a model housing scheme and a very handsome club house and institute.

FRED W. HOWARTH

THIS firm was founded in 1901 at Blackley, near Manchester. The proprietor was originally a designer at Potter's and later at Radcliffe with Yates, Dauncey & Dawson. The firm specialised in cheap goods and the "sanitary" portion of the set was always very strong, a feature of the establishment being the large engraving shop which executed work for other industries as well as wallpaper. A disastrous fire occurred in 1914 which destroyed a portion of the premises. It was subsequently rebuilt and the factory was again brought up to the modern standard of productiveness.

The mill has always been extremely efficient in manufacture, largely owing to personality of the founder, whose kindly disposition and personal popularity have been strong assets in his dealings with his workpeople and with all who have had contact with him. He has also had strong support from his two nephews. In 1915 the firm was absorbed by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., Fred W. Howarth joining the directorate.

JEFFREY & CO.

THIS celebrated house, whose contribution to the artistic side of the industry during the past eighty years forms a record unsurpassed by any other firm, was founded about 1836 by Jeffrey, Wise & Co. at St. Helen's Place, moving about two years later to Kent and Essex Yard, Whitechapel. In the year 1840, they figure in Pigot's Directory as "sole makers of Crease's washable paper-hangings." Crease was a paper-stainer established in 1825, at Great Newport Street. They presumably had some knowledge of calico printing, for it was about 1840 that they succeeded in printing wallpaper on a cylinder type of machine.

The name was changed to Jeffrey, Wise & Horne, in 1842, and again to Horne & Allen in 1843. "Trellis-work paper with imitation 'flock' background," manufactured by Robt. Horne, 41, Gracechurch Street, is referred to on page 145, and illustrated in Plate 92. A pollard oak by Horne is also shown in "The Journal of Design and Manufacture," for 1849, and the editor excuses himself for departing from his practice of refusing to show imitation materials on the ground that this is a very fine effect.

Another paper by Jeffrey, Allen & Co., Kent and Essex Yard, receives the following commendation from the editor:—

"We are glad at last to have a design practically worked out which has been the production of a pupil of the School of Design, which the present pattern is said to have been. This is successfully distributed, gives the proper impression of *flatness*, and would be duly subordinate to any decoration of pictures or prints which might be hung upon it. This may be asked for in three colours. The present tints are quiet and becoming for rooms of every aspect."

In 1851 the firm was amongst the exhibitors at the Great Exhibition, including the new "cylinder-printed wallpapers." One speciality was a frieze 24 feet in length, based on the Elgin Marbles, another a set of panels representing "Deer Stalking," a third was the Murillo reproductions (Plate 107). Horne & Co. had a separate exhibit of oaks and wood imitations. The "Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue" refers to the exhibit as follows:—

"Messrs. Horne, Allen & Co., of London, among other examples of paper-hangings, exhibit the panelling a portion of which we engrave. A richly composed group of flowers and foliage runs round the entire design, which is executed with much more care and precision and exhibits considerable taste in the arrangement of colours."

At this same Exhibition the fine old furnishing and decorating house of Jackson and Graham, 37, Oxford Street, showed private patterns printed by Jeffrey & Co. In 1862 the firm achieved great repute by exhibiting James Huntington's Pilaster design (Plate 106), at the International Exhibition in London. The partners at this time were William Allen, Alfred Brown and Edward Hamilton.

This same year (1862), William Morris designed his first wallpaper, the "Trellis" (Plate 109), and not being successful in producing it himself he had it printed by Jeffrey & Co., with such satisfactory results that he continued to entrust the reproduction of his wallpapers to them, and indeed to this day they are responsible for printing the Morris block-papers. Actually, as stated in page 162, owing to the delay over the initial efforts with the "Trellis" pattern, the "Daisy" (Plate 110), was put on the market first. The Morris wallpapers were private patterns for the sole use of their firm, and not issued to the trade. The artistic results achieved by Jeffrey & Co. in their reproductions contributed in no small degree to their popularity, and had much to do with their influence on public taste.

In 1865 Jackson & Graham entrusted to Jeffrey & Co. the manufacture of the most important order for the production of wallpapers expressly designed for any one building, viz.:—the entire series of wallpapers designed by Owen Jones for the Viceroy's Palace at Cairo. One of the designs used for a ceiling alone took 58 blocks, and others were equally elaborate. Jackson & Graham were one of the first houses to exploit Owen Jones' handiwork, which they utilised for silks, carpets, furniture and wallpapers, but from this time to the date of his death he designed regularly for Jeffrey & Co. Jackson and Graham utilised B. J. Talbert's work also, printed by Jeffrey's about this time.

The year 1864 saw the amalgamation of Jeffrey & Co., Whitechapel, with Holmes & Aubert, of the Islington premises, which the firm of Jeffrey then took over and afterwards greatly enlarged. Holmes & Aubert, successors to Henwell & Kay, had been established about 1819, and were celebrated in their day for producing the highest class of hand-printed papers, specialising perhaps in "flocks" and in leaf-metal printing. From 1823 they had conducted their printing in the old hall of the Coachmakers' Company, in Noble Street, E.C., on the walls of which hung many an old oil painting of past masters. They moved to Islington about 1844.

On the retirement of William Allen in 1866, Metford Warner joined the firm as junior partner, and following the deaths of Edward Hamilton, 1869, and Alfred Brown, 1871, became sole proprietor. Under his forceful direction it may be said that the firm of Jeffrey & Co. rose to heights quite undreamed of in the service of art and its application to a British industry.

More than any other man, Metford Warner is responsible for the place English wallpapers have taken in the forefront of the world's production of this form of decorative art. It is interesting to recall the class of wallpaper which prevailed at the time. The machine-printed papers had not attained the quality in design or colour or technical finish which they achieved at a later date. They were in all these respects separated by a wide gulf from the hand-made article, and held a very much inferior position in general esteem. The hand-printed papers, on the other hand, were excellent of their class in execution and finish, and were largely inclined to the "Period" school of design; large damasks and "flocks," as associated with the name of William Woollams and Scott Cuthbertson, the stamped embossed and gilded patterns of Wylie & Lochhead, and the special but narrow range of designs and colourings produced by William Cooke & Sons, of Leeds, which had a tremendous vogue in the "Seventies."

At a very early stage Metford Warner resolved to make a new departure by enlisting the services of men eminent in architecture and design. He secured co-operation of a number of prominent men like William Burges, the great Gothic architect who designed, built and decorated Cardiff Castle for the Marquis of Bute; E. W. Godwin, a man conspicuous in the architectural and literary world; C. L. Eastlake, and Harrison Weir, the great bird and animal artist, none of whom up to that time had seriously entertained the thought of designing for wallpaper.

Jeffrey & Co. set themselves the task of definitely creating new styles and fashions in design. That they succeeded is beyond all question, and is amply demonstrated in the after-history of the firm, and that of those of their contemporaries who drew inspiration from this magnificent example. In 1867 Jeffrey & Co. exhibited at the Paris International Exhibition a decoration by Owen Jones (Plate 116), which demonstrated that the world contained other achievements in decorative art than those of French origin. In 1869 they produced the "Solanum" pattern (Plate 115), designed by Charles L. Eastlake, whose work had marked influence on wallpaper design.

In 1873, on Metford Warner's insistence, wallpapers were admitted for the first time to the Fine Arts Exhibition, held at the Albert Hall; before this it was contended that wallpapers did not belong to the category of fine arts. The committee was so impressed with their quality, however, as shown in complete decorations, frieze, filling, border and dado papers, that they awarded Jeffrey & Co. a medal in recognition of their merit in design and colouring.

In 1875 the firm introduced the self-contained continuous dado, the first of which was designed by Brightwon Binyon, and consisted of a dado of corn and poppies, a frieze of flying swallows, a diaper filling with a dividing border of dragon flies, treated in a conventional and decorative manner, all hand-printed. The idea was quite new; it hit the public fancy and became popular, with the inevitable result that it was promptly imitated in machine. The same year Jeffrey's produced Walter Crane's "Sing a Song of Sixpence," a nursery paper, by machine (Plate 180). In 1876, at the Philadelphia Exhibition, the firm elaborated this style of decoration in a Walter Crane design named "La Margarete" (Plate 129), with a dado of lilies and doves representing Purity and Innocence, and a frieze figure representing Diligence, Order, Providence and Hospitality (Plate 129). This decoration, produced under Metford Warner's skill and knowledge, gained two medals with a diploma, stating:—

"Jeffrey & Co. exhibited several specimens of works of art in paper decoration, which display the highest and finest taste. Such production deserves special recognition, and tend to elevate paper as a decorative article."

The filling "La Margarete" is probably one of the best Crane ever produced. From this year onwards Crane continued in active association with the firm without a break. In 1878, at the Paris International Exhibition, the firm was awarded a Gold Medal, a further proof that English wallpaper took no second place to those manufactured in France. The exhibit included Walter Crane's "Peacocks and Amorini," in embossed leather (Plate 124), and B. J. Talbert's "Sunflower," printed in "flock" (Plate 118). Talbert, who also exercised a great influence on design, had been drawing for Jeffrey's, and for Jackson & Graham from the early "Seventies."

In 1879 the firm printed a range of private patterns for L. A. Shuffrey, designed by himself, which were not merely a success in themselves, but had their effect on contemporary design. The collection included both machine and hand-printed papers, and the designs were of simple character, but carefully coloured. In 1881 Jeffrey & Co. exhibited a number of designs, including some by Walter Crane and B. J. Talbert, at the Melbourne Exhibition. In 1882 their friends and customers, Jackson & Graham, failed, to the great regret of the trade.

In this same year (1882), Jeffrey & Co. exhibited at the Fine Arts and Industrial Exhibition, at Manchester, showing, amongst other designs, Walter Crane's "Arbor Vitae." This design is described by the artist himself as follows:—

"The design of this arabesque, as its name implies, is intended to suggest the redundant stem of life, which, in the exuberance of nature, brings forth flowers and fruits after their different kinds, reptile, birds, beast, fish, and human or semi-human forms spring in rhythmical alternation from its curving branches, and turning, seek their good therefrom, as the children of mother earth turn again to her for sustenance. It is emblematic, too, of the long drama of evolution, and the constant struggle for existence throughout nature, the acts whereof and shifting scenes and incidents, in all their convolutions and complexities, build up the strange eventful pattern of being around us."

Jeffrey's exhibited at the National Health Exhibition in 1884, when they were awarded two Gold Medals, being the highest awards given for any class of decoration throughout the whole of the Exhibition. At the Inventions Exhibition in 1885, they again displayed Crane's work in two embossed leather *portières*, and it was at this time the firm's leather papers were used with great success at St. James's Palace, and at Sandringham.

Among the numerous designers who worked for Jeffrey's it may be mentioned that Owen Jones, B. J. Talbert, Walter Crane, Lewis F. Day, and C. F. A. Voysey, all created original styles in design, such styles being used not merely in wallpaper, but in carpets, silks, and other woven materials. Among those who designed expressly for Jeffrey's were Charles L. Eastlake, E. W. Godwin, William Burges, W. J. Muckley, J. D. Sedding, H. Wilson, Heywood Sumner, Allan F. Vigers.

In 1889, at the Paris International Exhibition, the firm won a Gold and Silver Medal. In 1893, at the Chicago International Exhibition, a Medal and Diploma was awarded. In 1900, at the Paris International Exhibition, they received two Gold, one Silver, and one Bronze Medal. In 1908, at the Franco-British Exhibition they were awarded the Grand Prix.

In closing this record of achievement it is gratifying to be able to state that Metford Warner, who received the Gold Medal of the Institute of British Decorators in 1914, though in his 60th year with the firm, is still able to take a keen interest in the business. Prior to 1899 he had the able assistance of his sons Albert and Horace Warner, who brought to bear the practical knowledge of paper-staining, which they had gained by working through the factory shops. They took the responsibility of the Paris Exhibition of 1889, and that of Chicago in 1893. They were admitted into partnership in 1898, and since, associated with their brother Marcus Warner, have been in a great measure responsible for the designs and colourings of the block and machine-printed wallpapers produced by Jeffrey & Co. of recent years.

KINDER, McDOUGALL & CO.

FOUNDED in 1908 at Irlam, near Manchester, by J. Kinder (formerly at Carlisle & Clegg's), and J. P. McDougall, a Manchester merchant. Both had early experience with Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. Very soon after commencing manufacture the firm brought out a distinct novelty in the "moulding" or "picture-rail" frieze and also a self-contained panel filling capable of "mitreing" very simply, without need of any additional border or stiling. These innovations were extremely successful, and were promptly imitated by all competitors.

In 1915 the factory, a very up-to-date one, was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., J. Kinder, who had very great experience in the commercial side of the business, joining the directorate, whilst J. P. McDougall continued to run the warehouses in Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds, as an independent merchant's business. The factory has since been considerably extended.

CHAS. KNOWLES & CO.

THIS business was established at 166, King's Road, Chelsea, in 1852, by Charles Brown, who built a small workshop in his garden, where, with one workman, he began making wallpaper, the pattern being an imitation of marble, which was at that time in great request. Charles Brown, in 1868, disposed of his lease and goodwill to Charles Knowles,

originally his young assistant, who continued the business under his own name. The front shop at the period was a good distance from the road, but small as it was, compared with its development at a later date, a somewhat extensive business was carried on.

About this time there was another paper-staining business at Park Walk, Chelsea, in the hands of John Godwin & Co. It was a very old house, dating back to 1797 (Bowen & Co.), changing in 1838 to Bowen & Godwin. In 1858 this business was running as Godwin & Cunningham, but the former retired, and later opened a small mill at Berkhamsted, which, however, did not run for long.

William Cunningham is celebrated for the introduction of two new qualities in the art of block-printing, the first being termed "Crystal Damasks," and the second "Frosted Golds." The latter process was patented in 1881, and first applied in 1882. The "Crystal Damasks" were based on the use of mica in grounding, and were a rival product to William Cooke & Sons' "Lustre Silks." The "Frosted Golds" were a form of ground, dusted with a mixture of gold powder and mica, which resulted in a less garish effect than the all-gold grounds, whilst at the same time it was claimed that the outer coating of mica preserved the metal from tarnishing.

In 1885-6 the Park Walk factory of William Cunningham & Co. was acquired by Knowles and Essex, the former having been joined in partnership by R. W. Essex (afterwards Sir R. W. Essex) in 1882.

At this period "marbles" and the elaborate dado decorations may be said to have "run their race," and Knowles & Essex (the title under which the Park Walk branch operated) commenced striking off old chintz designs and single-print "flocks" from the old blocks to which they had succeeded; at the same time publishing a few single-print designs by noted designers of that time, including Dr. Dresser, C. F. A. Voysey, A. F. Brophy, A. Silver, J. Thomas, and others. The "Dahlia" design printed from the old blocks (see illustration, Plate 132) met with great success, and was perhaps the most noted of these chintzes, while the single print "Pæony" found immediate favour.

The business made great strides owing to the quality and character of work produced. George C. Haité was one of the chief artists designing for the firm in 1885. In 1886 R. W. Essex retired from the firm, and the style was changed to Chas. Knowles & Co., in uniformity with the King's Road establishment. Charles Knowles then decided to rebuild the premises adjoining his King's Road warehouse, and in 1890 gave up the Park Walk Works, housing the whole concern, factory, warehouse and showroom, in the handsome buildings he had erected at 164, King's Road, extending at the back from Jubilee Place to Blenheim Street.

In 1892 the greater part of the works was destroyed by fire, and in rebuilding it was decided to add a machine-printing department, this class of work not having been done by the firm up to that time. After initial difficulties had been overcome the machine-printed chintz designs of the firm obtained a high standard of excellence, and it was for this class of work that the firm was most distinguished in more recent times, the 12-colour "Peacock" and "Queen Anne" chintz designs being among the most noted.

In 1893 they joined with John Line & Sons in purchasing from E. & T. Wild, successors to William Cooke & Sons, Leeds, the whole of the blocks of that famous house. In



CHARLES KNOWLES

1894 they produced a filling, the subject of which was chestnut foliage, with a frieze of leaves and fruit designed by the Marquis of Lorne. In 1898 the business was formed into a limited liability company, Charles Knowles, Charles George Knowles and Thomas Carmichael being the directors.

In 1900 the company purchased the old-established business of John Woollams & Co., 44, Marylebone Lane, London, W., which they shortly afterwards moved to more modern premises at 23, North Audley Street, W., but in 1909 they discontinued the trading name of "John Woollams & Co.," merging the business into the Chelsea firm, and opened a branch depot and West End showroom at 495, Oxford Street, W. During this period the firm continued to specialise in chintz papers, some of those produced, particularly on white satin grounds, having a character and distinction peculiar to themselves (Plates 128 and 133). A Gold Medal was awarded them at the Franco-British Exhibition in 1908.

In 1913 the business was purchased by A. Sanderson & Sons, Ltd., 52, Berners Street, W., who transferred the commercial side of the business to their own extensive premises in Berners Street, and from this date the "Knowles" designs were incorporated in their own comprehensive collection, the blocks and rollers having been removed to the Sanderson branch of the Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., at Chiswick.

SHAND KYDD, LTD.

THIS firm was established in Marylebone Road, by Shand Kydd in 1891. As a youth Shand Kydd, who was of Scottish ancestry, had been trained in the decorative business and spent some of his early years in Edinburgh, coming to London in 1881. Some years before founding the present business, he was engaged by the old-established house of Hayward & Son (who were then producing their well-known hand-made friezes and block-printed fillings). In commencing on his own account he practised as a decorative artist, drawing friezes and decorations which he submitted personally to leading decorators throughout the country, and for a number of years the designs produced at Marylebone Road and later on at Seaton Street, Hampstead Road, were designed almost entirely by himself.

The style in vogue then was a combination of block and stencil work; breadth of effect and harmony of colour being the keynote of the productions. Up till 1890, this class of work had been confined almost entirely to friezes, but Shand Kydd now placed on the market a range of fillings designed and worked in the same manner, which proved very successful.

It is an interesting fact, perhaps worth mentioning, that not only were the patterns designed, but the blocks and stencils were made and cut, patterns books made up, and, in fact, the whole of the work from the conception of the design until it was in the hands of the decorators, was done on the premises. The designs steadily increased in variety and developed a richness of fancy together with a mastery of colour which soon placed the Shand Kydd productions in the front rank of the artistic wallpapers of the day.

After some years at Marylebone Road, the firm removed to Seaton Street, Hampstead Road, where they remained for 12 or 13 years. During this time, the goods manufactured were on similar lines, but greater attention had been given to the production of decorative schemes. The trade of the firm at this time was confined almost entirely to the decorators of the country, very little being done with the wholesale houses, but considerable quantities of goods were exported to the United States and the Dominions, and some parts of the Continent.

In 1906, Shand Kydd, finding it necessary to have larger premises, built the present factory in Highgate Road, where machinery had been installed, and although style and taste have changed, the decorative idea is still maintained; with the introduction of machinery a much larger variety of goods is now produced. The first machine productions were mainly texture effects, again demonstrating a supreme mastery of colour. The "Journal of Decorative Art," writing in 1909, said:—

"Kydd's genius does not lie in the direction of what are known as the French and classical styles, but with all the more modern expressions of decorative design which take the Home as its starting point: he is in his element and amongst the first exponents of that class of design as applied to wallpapers."

The Highgate premises were extended to accommodate increased business in 1911. In 1912-13 the firm developed yet further the "built-up" panel, plaque and pilaster type of decoration, generally accompanied with crowns or friezes in character (Plates 229 and 230).

Before 1914 Shand Kydd was assisted by his son, W. Shand Kydd, junr., who, unfortunately, fell in the War. In 1918 the business was converted into a private limited company and is now conducted by the founder as managing director, together with N. Shand Kydd as director, F. Woodman as director and secretary, and assisted by R. Shand Kydd.

The decision to bring this historical narrative to a close approximately in 1914 prevents really adequate allusion to the remarkable achievements of the house of Shand Kydd and its influence on contemporary fashion. Reference has been made to its wonderful mastery of the problems of colour; equal distinction has attended the technical perfection of its production and its services to the art of design. Wallpaper history has been enriched in a most notable degree by the coming of this house, and contemporary English manufacturers will be the first to acknowledge and rejoice in the contribution made to the reputation and fame of English paper-hangings as a result of the genius and achievement of Shand Kydd.

LIGHTBOWN, ASPINALL & CO.

THE founder of this business, Henry Lightbown, was born at Darwen in the year 1819. As a boy he was remarkable for very unusual mathematical gifts. It is recorded in *The Family Herald* that on one occasion, in the presence of leading men of the town, he performed some great feats in mental arithmetic, concluding by calculating with closed eyes the square of a haphazard number containing 15 figures, resulting in a total of 30 figures in 48 minutes.

After a few years spent in a cotton mill he offered his services to the firm of Potter's, who were then commencing to manufacture wallpaper by machinery (1840). In 1847 he left the Darwen factory to start in business as a merchant at 9, High Street, Manchester, in partnership with his brother-in-law, William Aspinall and Doctor Graham (of Potter's), the title of the firm being Lightbown, Aspinall & Graham.

In the early days the firm confined itself to the distribution of machine-printed papers produced by Potter's and to the sale of hand-printed private patterns. Doctor Graham, a partner in Potter's, was paid out in 1851, when a small block-printing shop was established in Cross Lane, Pendleton. Three years later, a large plot of land in the neighbourhood having been acquired, machine-printing was commenced in a new factory called Hayfield Mills, the partners being Henry Lightbown, his brother James, and William Aspinall. Later the two latter were bought out and retired.

The name of the mill was taken from the farm house (Hayfield House, the residence of Robert Sugden) and fields, upon the site and in the midst of which the factory was erected. Pendleton was at that time a rural district, and a footpath through fields and over stiles connected the Hayfield property with the old Manchester-Liverpool toll road, now known as Broad Street, Pendleton. The first block of buildings erected was only small and the machines laid down were few, but the characteristic foresight and confidence of the founder were such that land greatly in excess of immediate needs was secured.



HENRY LIGHTBOWN

Almost immediately the machines started moving, the sales were such as to require day and night working for more than twelve months. Henry Lightbown took duty by night, whilst Wm. Aspinall relieved him during the day time. Developments were rapid, the repeal of the paper duty having contributed to the demand for wallpaper, and within the next 30 years the whole site was gradually covered with buildings embracing every known process of production. Warehouses for distribution were opened in Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, London and Leipzig, that in London proving a great success in attracting trade under the *régime* of John Cockshut, who was its first manager.

A large export trade was established and special collections were issued to suit oversea markets, one in particular consisting of "Hindoo Gods," which was much in demand in India for decoration in connection with religious festivals. Another speciality

was hand made "marbles." Later, in response to the demand for gilded leathers, a range of "Cordovan Leathers" was brought out, and again about 1897 a range called "Florentinas." During all this period of expansion, indeed to the days of their respective deaths, Henry Lightbown kept up a firm friendship with his old chiefs at Darwen, Doctor Graham and Harold Potter, the latter being a frequent visitor at Hayfield Mills.

Henry Lightbown was himself from first to last, the mainspring of his business, assisted by a capable staff which included his nephews John and James Cockshut, James Walsh, William Sugden, and in later years, William Duncan. His mathematical talents obtained full play in costing, and in all those sides of an expanding manufacturing business where shrewd and accurate calculations spell the difference between success or failure. He himself perfected numerous devices to improve manufacture, and in 1871 patented one which is still in use at many mills, for registering the lengths of the pieces at the time of manufacture. Prior to this he devised the rod pick-up apparatus which is also the standard still for carrying through the drying processes.

In 1890 he built the Lightbown Hall as a Social Club for the use of his employés. In person he hid the kindest of hearts and most generous of dispositions under an exterior of grave dignity and even a suspicion of autocracy. Although, like most wealthy men, a target for every sort of appeal, he was always responsive to the calls of charity and preferred to take the risk of imposition rather than that a deserving cause should be denied. When his good faith was abused, it did not deter him from trusting again, but he had one little practice which was characteristic and deserves recording. In his desk and

in his own handwriting a small book was kept under the title of "Rogues, Thieves, Vagabonds and Incapables." Those who proved unworthy of his kindness were invariably entered up in this record without comment, as a matter of routine, and there the episode ended.

He was a magistrate for the county borough of Salford, and was keenly devoted to the arts, being patron of the Spanish painter, Falero, most of whose works he acquired. Throughout his life he was a man of simple, strong and unobtrusive religious convictions. He died in 1899, aged 80 years, and the family interest in the business was continued by his son-in-law, William Sugden, and his two grandsons, Vernon L. Burnett and Alan V. Sugden.

In their early days Lightbown's contented themselves with the printing of cheap goods by machine, supplemented by hand-printed goods, but in 1880-1 they introduced a new medium-grade in the "Early English" style (Plate 126) which proved an enormous success. The responsibility for this innovation belongs chiefly to the Cockshut brothers, who saw in the continental productions in hand-work then being imported as high-class specialties, an opening for an all machine English-made line of intermediate value and cost. These goods had the distinctive feature of an embossed finish, an innovation new to wallpaper, and were printed on a superfine paper.

The French importing firm of Corbière challenged some of the productions and process, and it was the subject of a lawsuit which was compromised on the withdrawal of certain designs, but it inevitably advertised the Lightbown "Early English" venture throughout the trade. Additional and larger printing machines were required and a new factory built to house them, which, incidentally, was blown down in a storm during the course of erection.

For a long period following 1880 the Lightbown-Aspinall mills specialised on their "Early English" set and later were encouraged to pioneer the finest grades and designs in both hand and machine types, winning awards at the Brussels and Sydney Exhibitions (1879). For many years Arthur Silver was the chief contributor of designs, particularly from 1893 to about 1898, whilst Dresser, Brophy, Sidney Haward, Willcock, William Turner and G. R. Rigby have also rendered valuable assistance.

On the winding up of Cooke's business in 1893, Lightbown's bought and produced in the following year no less than seventy-four of the Leeds house's best machine designs, and the same year they participated with others in the acquisition of the Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith rollers. In more recent years they have specialised in nursery designs, and have produced work by such eminent artists as Kate Greenaway (originally brought out by David Walker at Middleton, and taken over in 1901 by Lightbown, Aspinall & Co.), Walter Crane ("Mistress Mary," 1903), Will Owen ("Bo-Peep," 1910—Plate 213—"The Sea Shore," 1912), and others.

Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. claim to have introduced the multiple colour printing in "sanitary" effects in 1884. Other firms were working in the same direction at the same time and came out with coloured "sanitaries," practically simultaneously. The single-colour "sanitary" originated, so far as England is concerned, at Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith's factory in Hyde Road, Manchester, and consisted at the beginning entirely of plank oak imitations. The department and process of "sanitary" or engraved roller printing was actually called "The Oaks" for many years at all factories producing such goods. The plank led up to skeleton floral designs, geometricals, etc., in mono-tone and the two, three, and more colour effects printed simultaneously were evolved at Pendleton by the foreman "sanitary" printer, the late John Walker (originally at Hyde Road),

who was, from the first, an enthusiast, and the late James Cockshut, at first a disbeliever, but later converted to its practicability, ably backed by the engineers, Gadd and Edmeston.

The additional colours in the early stages consisted of a flat dab of colour laid on to the old single-colour floral "sanitary" with somewhat crude "registering." Years previous to this Henry Lightbown himself devised a coloured "sanitary" by adding a hand-printed "blotch" of another colour by way of decoration as an after process to the "sanitary" single-colour floral and geometrical designs. The "sanitary" or engraved roller process has always been a speciality of the firm, and since the acquisition of the David Walker interest in 1901, including the largest printing machine in the world, they have enjoyed a great reputation for these goods. In 1902 they borrowed a German idea in the surface oil-printing process which was very successful in ingrain papers, fabric effects and tiles. An interesting feature of this process is that the printing rollers can be made of rubber, wood, or metal, the latter being engraved or etched into relief.

In 1903, under G. F. Jackson's inspiration, they pioneered the damask or "flash effect" "sanitary" (Plates 171-3) and enjoyed almost a monopoly in this grade for some years following. In the succeeding year they introduced the engraved landscape frieze, the designs for the first few years being exclusively drawn by W. Denby.

In 1905, G. F. Jackson introduced the "Crown" decoration on the large machine, the frieze portion being "bumped" in by means of cams and eccentrics at precisely the moment that the filling dropped out. This process resulted in crown and filling being printed in continuous 4-yard lengths, this height being suitable for the average wall. In 1906 they developed the use of the aerograph in stencilling and exploited the landscape frieze as well as the conventional type by means of this process (Plates 221 and 222). In the same year a tile design from originals by Kate Greenaway with her characteristic children's figures was produced. During the more recent period the most notable work in design has been executed by George Pretty, John Wood and Barton Thomas, working under the direction of Edward Speed.

No fewer than twelve directors of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. were originally old employes of Lightbown, Aspinall & Co., viz.:—V. L. Burnett, Harry Carver, John, James and Harry Cockshut, W. Duncan, G. F. Jackson, J. Kinder, G. W. Osborn, A. V. Sugden, John Walker, and E. W. Walker. Another employé of very long service, interrupted only by a spell at Page, Arnold & Co., Holmfield, Halifax, during its brief history from 1904 to 1906, was William Eccles, the works manager, who hailed originally from Darwen.

JOHN LINE & SONS

IN origin a cabinet-making business, founded in Bath by John Line, this firm acquired an existing furniture business in Reading in 1874, as a branch of the original Bath house. The Reading establishment was managed by the two elder sons of the founder, and later by all three sons in partnership. In 1880 it was decided to enter the wallpaper trade proper as a wholesale house. Afterwards they branched into private design production, and later into block-printing and stencilling.

They established themselves in London in Southampton Row in 1892, removed to Aldersgate Street in 1893, and later to Tottenham Court Road. In 1893 they joined with Chas. Knowles & Co. in buying the old blocks of William Cooke & Sons, of Leeds, from their successors, E. & T. Wild & Co. Amalgamations took place with John Dunn & Son,

of Edinburgh and Newcastle, and with J. P. McDougall & Co., of Manchester in 1902, the latter partnership being dissolved later. The firm was transformed into a limited company in 1904. In 1906 a new block-printing factory was opened at Southall.

Amongst the contributions which John Line & Sons have made to progress in design should be mentioned a number of the works of such men as Voysey, Silver, Butterfield, Brophy, Dresser, Jonquel Gaye, Froggatt, Hay, Willcock, and Neatby. In the early days F. G. Froggatt was responsible largely for the "private patterns," and his originality of ideas combined with discreet commercial judgment had much to do with the success which attended the firm's efforts. His "Honesty" design (Plate 152), was a great success, and will be remembered for its outstanding decorative merit.

Between 1907 and 1910 (the year of his death), W. J. Neatby was chief designer for the firm, and it was during his *régime* that at the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 they were awarded a Gold Medal. His "Della Robbia" and "Spring" designs are amongst the best known. He had a fine gift of "line," and was in this respect of the William Morris school, to whose work his "handwriting" bore a noticeable similarity. Of late years some extremely fine hand-work has been produced from the factory at Southall, including complete decorative schemes built up to suit individual room requirements.

MITCHELL, ARNOTT & CO.

THIS firm was formed by William Mitchell and William Hammond, who were both block-printers, employed by Mush & Davies, 73, George Street, Manchester, formerly Mush and Clarke, one of the oldest paper-staining houses in the country, and the oldest in the town. The firm, carried on in its later days by John Mush, was a shop of some importance, but declined about 1850, when Mitchell and Hammond joined forces and started as block-printers in Jackson Street, London Road, removing to Ancoats Vale about 1853. (Another old employé of Mush was Isaac Newton Grundy, who commenced block-printing in partnership with William Swallow, at Wilmslow, in 1856, and later in 1879 opened machine-printing at Stockport. His factory was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers, Ltd. in 1899 and closed. I. N. Grundy died in 1906.)



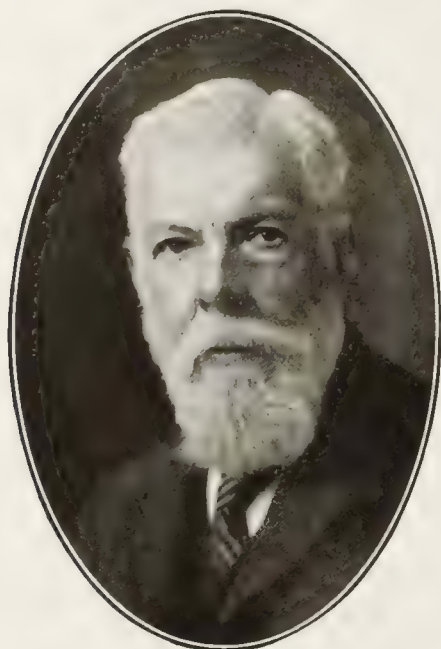
Obverse and Reverse of token issued by Mush & Clarke

Extensions by the Midland Railway Company necessitated removal of Mitchell & Hammond to more convenient premises, and in 1863, the firm removed to Golborne, taking over an empty mill erected by a Co-operative Society. This was only used as a temporary refuge, and in 1865 they built a new factory on an adjacent site, and were joined in partnership with W. H. Arnott, who was an old employé of Heywood, Higginbottom and Smith. Shortly after this Hammond died, and the title of the firm was altered to Mitchell, Arnott & Co. Considerable expansion took place, and a Manchester warehouse was opened in South King Street, followed by branches in Dublin, Belfast and London. In a disastrous fire in 1886, the factory was destroyed, but rebuilt again on more modern lines the following year.

The firm made all grades of machine-made wallpapers, but specialised in "sanitary" and varnished goods, and also in hand-made "marbles." The business was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd in 1899.

OSBORN & SHEARMAN

AFTER a very considerable experience in the wallpaper trade, successively with Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith, and with Lightbown, Aspinall & Co., G. W. Osborn commenced printing in 1875, in partnership with Henry Shearman, at Paulton Works, 334, King's Road, Chelsea. Previous to this G. W. Osborn's father and grandfather had been carrying on business as wallpaper merchants in Chelsea. H. Shearman retired in 1880.



GEO. W. OSBORN, J.P., D.L.

The firm exhibited and ran an 8-colour surface printing machine at the Inventions Exhibition in 1885, and were awarded the only medal which has been granted for improvements in paper-hangings machinery. The machine was a joint patent of G. W. Osborn and D. W. Yates, and consisted of an arrangement for printing on a fabric with second process and keeping accurate fit.

D. W. Yates came to the Chelsea Works from Darwen in 1877, was subsequently appointed works manager and continued in this capacity until 1892, when he left, together with S. H. Dauncey, to found the firm afterwards known as Yates, Dauncey & Dawson, at Radcliffe, near Bury.

In 1887 additional premises were erected at Fulham for the production of engraved "sanitary" papers, and in 1903 the Chelsea factory was closed. Neighbouring factories at Chelsea during this period were Scott, Cuthbertson & Co., of White-lands Works, and Chas. Knowles & Co.

One of the earliest designers for the trade was Cadman, who drew for most of the manufacturers of the period, and his work was used a good deal by the firm of Osborn & Shearman. In 1898 G. W. Osborn took out a patent for supplying wallpaper with an overlap on the selvages, or no selvedge at all, so that it would not require trimming. In 1899 the factory was absorbed by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. Throughout its history the firm specialised in the production of the cheaper grades of wallpaper, leaving the better class goods to houses who chose to devote their energies to such lines. This specialising was duly rewarded in the reputation the firm gained.

G. W. Osborn was much interested in politics, both municipal and Parliamentary, being first a member of the London County Council, and afterwards Chairman of the East Sussex County Council. He was a trustee of the National Liberal Club, and his signature appears in the celebrated Golden Wedding Album presented to Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone by supporters and admirers, on the page illuminated and designed by Walter Crane. He was chairman of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. from 1906 till 1917.

G. W. Osborn was made Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Sussex in 1919. Some years previous to this he retired from active participation in the business, and he was succeeded at the factory by his son, G. W. Osborn, junr., and by Andrew Yates, a son of his old manager, D. W. Yates. Both these gentlemen, who had extensive practical experience of the business, became directors of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. G. W. Osborn died in 1924.

JOHN PERRY & CO.

THE firm now known under the above designation was established by John Perry in Islington, about 1875, and at its origin was principally engaged in producing simple hand-printed designs of one or two colours for the use of architects. A copy of the first pattern book issued by the firm still exists at the factory, and is of considerable interest as showing what was acceptable as wallpaper half-a-century ago.

It is notable that John Perry was the originator of powdered mica (dry talc) in the manufacture of wallpapers, which were advertised as "untarnishable silver papers." Ground mica was then unprocurable, and when the article was brought under the notice of the trade, manufacturers, such as Woollams, Scott, Cuthbertson & Co., etc., readily placed orders for mica grounds on which to print their own patterns. Originally made from the dry powder, talc grounds are now produced by grounding the mica in water, and are familiarly known as "Satinettes."

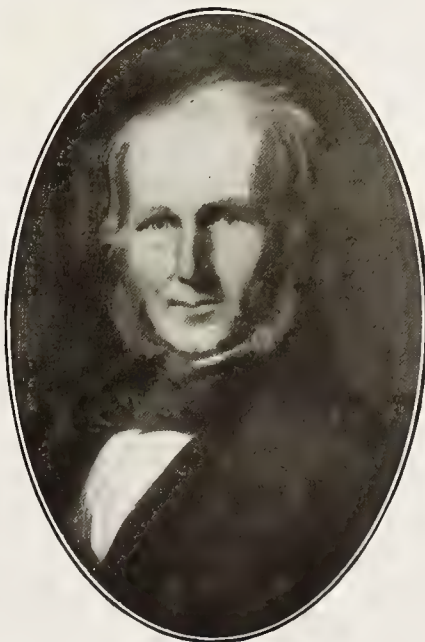
For years John Perry & Co. acquired a deserved reputation for their "flock" papers, when these were in more general demand. With the revival of the demand for "flocks," they still retain their position, and the fact that the "flock" is cut and dyed on their premises is a valuable asset to the firm. In the late "nineties" the firm took over the blocks of H. Scott Richmond & Co., a house distinguished for the production of a range of designs by H. H. Mott, a member of the firm, and a well-known designer in his day.

In many respects the reputation of Perry & Co. rests on their well-known hand-drawn Jaspé papers. For years the production of these goods was the prerogative of French houses, and they were made by machine, but with the introduction of the Perry process, which has been imitated by many, but equalled by none, these papers, as produced in this country, have achieved a deserved popularity, which shows no sign of waning. Over seventy shades are run, and the firm's ability to make small lots to colour has had much to do with their success. In addition to these specialities the house of Perry has manufactured and continues to make a comprehensive collection of block-printed designs, including classical and "period" patterns, as well as the modern styles.

"POTTER'S" OF DARWEN

IN any record of the manufacture of machine wallpapers the name of Potter's, of Darwen, has a strong claim to notice, both on account of the magnitude of the concern and also because its inception dates so far back as 1839. There is no need to tell again here of the part played by the firm in first demonstrating the commercial possibility of machine-printing, as this is fully dealt with in pages 125-6-7. But the business which started in 1839, when Charles Potter severed his connection with his former partner in the calico-printing firm of Potter & Ross, of Dob Meadow Print Works, and commenced business with his brothers, Harold and Edwin, at Belgrave Mills as paper-stainers, was destined to achieve success far beyond the dreams of its founders.

In 1849 John Gerald Potter, son of Charles Potter, entered the firm and was made a partner. Soon after his introduction, Harold Potter retired and the style of the firm was changed to C. E. & J. G. Potter. At the Great Exhibition in 1851 the firm displayed productions up to 14 colours and won special mention in the Jury's report.



CHARLES POTTER

In the year 1853 Edwin Potter, who had generally interested himself in London, distributing the manufactured goods for the firm, also retired, and the style of the firm was again changed and became known as C. & J. G. Potter, at which it still remains.

The chief engineer, Walmsley Preston, who had accompanied Charles Potter from Dob Meadow Print Works, and the commercial manager, Doctor Graham—Doctor being a common Christian name in early Lancashire history—were hereabouts taken into partnership, as was also the works manager at Hollins Mills, John Carlisle.

In 1855 a patent was taken out in the name of Doctor Graham for the purpose of grounding the paper before printing by machinery, and in 1856 Walmsley Preston took out a patent for a machine to be used for the damping or moistening of paper preparatory to being passed through any glazing or polishing machinery.

In 1864 James Huntington came to Darwen, and his entry brought about the introduction to the wallpaper industry of a remarkable trio of brothers. James Huntington was originally a designer for Paisley shawls and silk printing and had succeeded in working up a large designing, engraving and print-cutting business in the Metropolis, being established in 1848 at 32, Bucklersbury, under the style of "pattern drawers." Prior to joining Potter's he had extensive business transactions with them in the capacity of designer; in fact his designs were bought and produced by most of the leading houses of the time. When taken into partnership later on in the year 1864 he transferred the whole of his designing and a portion of the cutting business to Darwen. His brothers, Charles Philip and William Balle Huntington, were at this time established in Paris

as Huntington Frères, where they conducted a Continental agency for Potter's paper-hangings, and by their intimate knowledge of the markets and languages were able to build up a very large export trade for the firm.

Charles Potter retired in 1864, as also did Walmsley Preston, and the management was left in the hands of John Gerald Potter and James Huntington.

At this period William Snape, who had formerly been in the employ of Potter's as chief designer, and had in 1854 built up a splendid business as manufacturer of wallpapers in competition with them, at Livesey Fold Mills, Darwen, was persuaded by James Huntington to come into partnership. The mill at Livesey Fold was carried on as a separate concern under the title of the Darwen Paper Staining Co. (this is the style of the firm at the present time), having its own offices and general working staff, but was under the general management of Potter's. It may be of interest to mention here that later on in life William Snape became the first Mayor of Darwen on its incorporation as a borough, and his initials are still engraved on the official chain of office.



JOHN GERALD POTTER

In 1880 The Darwen Paper Staining Co. was transferred to a new mill adjoining Potter's Mill in Belgrave Road, and the Livesey Fold works closed.

In 1866 the name of Potter's was brought very much before the public owing to an action taken against them by a firm of art publishers in London. The trouble arose through Potter's having reproduced as a wallpaper Rosa Bonheur's famous picture, "The Horse Fair." The picture itself made a wonderful impression on the art world of that

day, and Potter's reproduction as a wall decoration was acknowledged to be the finest piece of colour-printing by machinery produced up to that time. Evidently Potter's had not taken the precaution of obtaining permission for the reproduction, and Greaves & Co., of Piccadilly, London, who owned the copyright, brought an action against them in which judgment was found for the plaintiff with damages of £400 and expenses, the rollers to be destroyed. The printed stock was shipped to South America, and there the matter ended. To-day a framed sample of the "condemned" pattern hangs in the private office of the great factory.

In 1867 Potter's were awarded a gold medal at the Exposition Universelle, Paris, for their wallpaper exhibits. Amongst their special productions exhibited at the time was a pattern, printed by machine, with no less than thirty-two colours in a repeat of the design, this being accomplished by a sub-division of the respective colour boxes. The receipt of this award was the occasion for much jubilation in the town, and the Potter employés marched in procession through the principal streets.

In 1871 Walmsley Preston, who had been in retirement from the firm about seven years, died. His forte was principally the mechanical side of the business, and it was his early struggles in the adaptation of the calico machines for the printing of paper that laid the foundation for the business. The death of Charles Potter also occurred during the following year. This gentleman, who also may be rightly called one of the pioneers of machine-printed wallpapers, was born in the year 1802, and after spending the early part of his business career in calico-printing, he turned his attention, as elsewhere stated, to the manufacture of wallpaper by machinery. By his perseverance and untiring energy he was able to place the undertaking on a very sound commercial footing, and he left behind him an industry that has gone steadily forward from that time to this.



JAMES HUNTINGTON

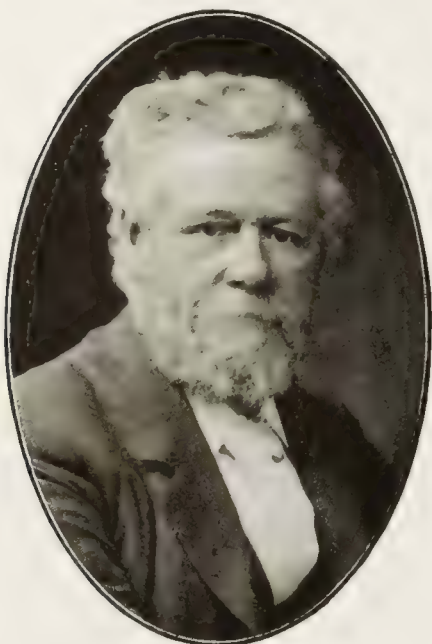
Doctor Graham, who had been a partner of the firm for a good many years, died on August 1st, 1874. He was an outside representative of the firm, and later, being a man of much experience and administrative capability, was brought to the works and placed in charge of the commercial side of the business. He was an early partner in Lightbown, Aspinall & Graham (1847 to 1850).

By his energy and enterprise James Huntington had now risen to the position of managing partner. He turned his attention to the improvement of design and colour treatment, and owing to his intimate knowledge of these subjects was able to have drawings prepared of a more artistic and decorative character, so that the productions of the Potter firm became known far and wide.

The two younger brothers of James Huntington were made partners in 1876, and very quickly developed a thorough knowledge of the industry. They at once entered wholeheartedly into the undertaking, and with their brother James were very active in its direction. The business was not only maintained under their capable management, but considerably increased. Charles Philip Huntington interested himself mostly in the designing and colouring of the productions, whilst his brother, William Balle Huntington, was the ruling spirit commercially.

At this period the services and works of several designers of note were studied in order to bring about further improvements in the set, and it was at this time that "styles" came into evidence. Designs were purchased from such well-known artists as Dr. Dresser and C. F. A. Voysey, also the works of Owen Jones were studied and wallpaper designs constructed from his book on Ornament. At a considerably later date Albert Baker, from Essex & Co., joined the permanent designing staff.

The firm received a sad blow in the death of James Huntington, which occurred rather suddenly in 1878. He was, as already indicated, the senior partner in the firm. It is evidence of the good feeling existing between employer and employé that he, in his



SIR CHARLES HUNTINGTON

will, apportioned a legacy of eight weeks' pay to every one of his workpeople, and they, in affectionate memory, erected a fountain in the public park. C. P. and W. B. Huntington, from this time onwards, took a more marked interest in the firm's development. New departments were opened up and the business greatly extended. Their paper-hangings achieved distinction, not only in the English market, but overseas. In Australia, at the Sydney International Exhibition in 1878 and the Melbourne Exhibition in 1880, their goods were awarded diplomas. In 1884 John Charles Potter, son of John Gerald Potter, entered the firm. He was made a partner and assisted the brothers Huntington in the management, the older partners, John Gerald Potter, William Snape and John Carlisle, not now being actively interested.

The Paris house, "Huntington Frères," through which all Potter's continental business had been conducted, was closed in 1890 and transferred to Darwen. A separate office and staff was formed and the Paris manager was transferred to Darwen to take charge. From that time all continental business for Potter's has been conducted through the department known as "Huntington Frères," Darwen. The same year C. P. Huntington took out a patent for applying

"gold, flock, mica or other material" by means of a separate cylinder applied to a printing machine.

In 1891 Potter's bought up most of the assets of the Blackburn firm of Walkden & Dixon, repeating an earlier procedure with the firm of Stafford, Standing & Duckworth.

Arthur W. Huntington, son of W. B. Huntington, entered the firm as a partner in 1892, and quickly became conversant with the industry. He associated himself with the practical side of the business and was largely concerned in its further development. At the outbreak of the South African War in 1900 he went out as a volunteer with the Duke of Lancaster's Own Imperial Yeomanry, and was awarded the D.S.O. towards the close of the campaign.

In 1893, as is related elsewhere, Potter's joined with their three largest contemporaries in the winding up of Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith's factory in Manchester, and William Huntington in person undertook the disposal of the wallpaper stock, possibly two million pieces. This operation must have called for great judgment in order to safeguard other interests. Potter's also acquired the Arden Paper Mill, belonging to the same firm, but disposed of it later to Lancaster, Ferguson & Co.

In 1896, in view of the firm's increasing business, it became imperative that new and enlarged accommodation should be provided, and it was no less essential that there should be no stoppage of work. The old "Belgrave" was a collection of buildings of varied ages and sizes, which had been added to as occasion demanded, and regarded as a whole, was lacking in spaciousness and convenience. It was determined, therefore, to erect a new "Belgrave" outside the old one, and so to-day's structure was built round the old ones and roofed in. Then the top floor was laid in concrete and the gearing erected for running the machinery. The plant was transferred to this floor piecemeal in the intervals of stopping, and as soon as set up started running, with the result that there was no interruption of business. It was an interesting operation showing the enterprise and capacity of the firm. It is remarkable, too, that though big risks were taken, not a single casualty occurred to mar the achievement. After the machinery was transferred the old buildings were demolished and the *débris* thrown out of the windows of the new premises. The intervening floors were laid and the mill completed. With the completion of this new building the Potter works, now modernized, gave them a premier position as manufacturers.

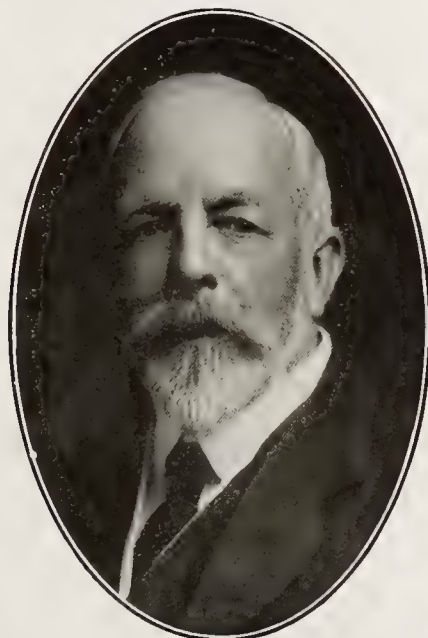
There were, of course, many other large factories in England producing wallpapers, but it may be said of several of them that their inception was brought about as a result of some Darwen experience. "Potter's" had in fact become the father of a large family.

In 1899 an amalgamation of the various firms resulted in the formation of the company known to-day as The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., and it is of particular interest to state that its first chairman was W. B. Huntington, whilst Henry Simpson, who, for a long period, had been the responsible commercial head for Potter's, was its first secretary, and in 1904 its first general manager with a seat on the board. Associated with W. B. Huntington as directors of the new company and connected with the industry at Darwen, were C. P. Huntington, A. W. Huntington and J. C. Potter (who also was chairman at a later date).

In 1906 C. P. Huntington died. He was a man held in very high esteem, and apart from his business career was associated with many philanthropic causes. He also encouraged education by the endowment of scholarships. An active politician, in 1892 he was elected Member of Parliament for the Darwen Division. Illustrating his character he posted a notice up in the works on this occasion that "his employes must not be influenced because he was their employer. They must vote as they pleased." He was made a Darwen magistrate in 1881, was Mayor in 1898-9, and became a County magistrate in 1899. Only a few months before his death, and in recognition of his services in many social channels, he was created a baronet, and it was a matter of regret that he did not live longer to enjoy his well-earned distinction.



WILLIAM B. HUNTINGTON



HENRY SIMPSON

W. B. Huntington, after several years of active service with the new company, died in the year 1911. Apart from a successful business career he took a deep interest in the social and literary life of Darwen. As a permanent legacy to the town of his adoption he set aside a sum of money for the endowment of public lectures, and these are known to-day as the "William Huntington" lectures. In 1898 he was appointed High Sheriff of Lancashire. He also was highly regarded by his employées, and as evidence of his regard for them he left a legacy to each of his workpeople apportioned to length of service.

J. C. Potter died in 1920. Previous to his coming to Darwen to take his share of the management of the wallpaper business, he had read for the Bar, become a barrister, and practised in the Courts.



J. J. BECKETT

He took much interest in the welfare of his employées and in 1913 presented a bowling green for their use. He subsequently bequeathed a legacy to the Potter workpeople. J. C. Potter was the last nominal descendant of the family who originated the business, but the name still lives, and wherever wallpapers are known and used its fame is known.

So intimate has been the association of Darwen with the progress of the wallpaper trade that it is impossible to do full justice to all that has been accomplished, not only by the great leaders of the undertaking, but also by the various individuals who were, from time to time, instrumental in the development. Of those more closely associated with the Potter firm there occur the names of Andrew Kay, an active organizer and colourist in the "sixties," Edward Gregson and John Heald, who gave the best of their years in this service. Prominent also is the name of Nathaniel Jepson, a trusted servant for over sixty years, who still enjoys a well-earned retirement. Amongst others must be mentioned the Becketts, in particular J. J. Beckett, who was known to a very large circle of the trade, representing the house of Potter's in various parts of the country for many years. Later on he had special charge of its commercial interests, ultimately becoming a director of the new company.

The present management is vested in Walter H. Watson, previously the head of the foreign department, Major J. G. G. Mellor, M.C. (J. C. Potter's nephew), having transferred to the large paint manufacturing works in Darwen, known as "Walpamur," whilst other old Darweners, J. E. Entwisle and J. T. Chasney are entirely occupied at the head office of The Wall Paper Manufacturers in London. All these four gentlemen have seats on the board.

RIDLEY, SON & WHITLEY

THIS firm, famed mainly for placing on the market immense quantities of cheap goods, started in the person of Samuel Ridley, floor-cloth manufacturer, at 70, Newgate Street, in 1826.

Throughout its history oilcloth was its main interest, but after opening a branch establishment in Islington, some time prior to 1845, it apparently began to trade in wallpapers as a merchant line. Machines were put down later, and large quantities of cheap

goods supplied. In 1848 the firm, then styled Ridley, Son & Ellington, figure amongst "paper-hangings manufacturers." The name of Whitley was added in 1857. Between this date and 1864 an additional factory was acquired at Tottenham.

It would appear that some time after this period it became more profitable to sub-let a portion of the wallpaper printing to small firms badly in need of output than to attempt it themselves, and one house which did a considerable amount of printing for the firm was Walkden & Dixon, of Blackburn, whose production included "Sanitary Oaks," with dados as well as surface goods. In those early days, prior to the use of resin, the colours for "sanitary" printing were made up with flour paste, stained with ochre, so as to save the engraving from injury. After this firm's failure in 1891, it seems that Ridley, Son & Whitley took less interest in wallpaper, and gradually discontinued the line.

ROTTMANN & CO.

ANY record of English paper-staining would be incomplete without a reference to this firm, which though primarily a house importing Japanese leathers, also carried on a block and stencil business at Fitzgerald Works, Barnes. It was established in 1883, under the title of Rottmann, Strome & Co., St. Mary Axe.

The founder, Alexander Rottmann, was a man of fine artistic taste, which he exercised in commissioning designs and in imparting suggestions to English artists. The firm obtained Gold and Silver Medals at the International Health Exhibition in 1884, and at Antwerp Exhibition in 1885.

Rottmann's made free use of the services of such men as Silver, Rigby and Napper, and controlled a number of private designs in raised material, including "Cordelova," "Cameoid," and "Tynecastle." They also had some private wallpaper designs in machine-work, manufactured by Allan, Cockshut & Co. They removed from St. Mary Axe to Garlick Hill about 1890, the title of the firm being altered to Rottmann & Co. In 1906 the firm removed from Garlick Hill to 6, Lambeth Palace Road, S.E., and at the same time closed the Barnes factory, selling the block tables and blocks to The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd.

ARTHUR SANDERSON & SONS

THIS business was founded by the late Arthur Sanderson in the year 1860, in Soho Square. He was then an importer of French paper-hangings, and had the valuable agencies of Bezault, Paul Balin, and Daniels, three of the leading French manufacturers in those days.

In 1864 he moved into more convenient premises, 52, Berners Street. The French agencies gradually formed a smaller proportion of the whole turnover, whilst the trade in English wallpapers increased. In 1879 he had a collection of private patterns that were printed at various mills, but chiefly at Carlisle & Clegg's. In 1878 he acquired some land at Chiswick and erected a factory from which he issued his first set in 1879. In 1884 the firm acquired the merchant and import business of A. J. Duff, Bread Street, successor to Corbière, Son & Brindle.

In 1882 Arthur Sanderson died, leaving the business in the hands of his three sons, John, Arthur and Harold. On the death of their father it was decided to sell the works which he had erected, and a fresh factory was built on more modern lines to accommodate some dozen block printers and two machines. This accommodation was soon outgrown, and in 1892 a handsome four-storey building was erected for manufacturing, and the old building converted into storerooms and warehouses.

Enormous improvements were made in the manufacture as time progressed. Originally the Chiswick factory was founded to make private patterns for the Berners Street business, of simple character, but it was gradually transformed until in design, workmanship and quality, the production became and remains the highest of its kind. In 1885 the firm introduced the "ingrain" paper, which was first made in America. This material had a rich broken surface, and led to large developments in the wall-paper trade.



ARTHUR SANDERSON

After the closing of Wm. Cooke's business in Leeds, Harry Watkins Wild, trained at that well-known house, joined the designing staff. The late A. F. Brophy designed for the firm, and another well-known member of the staff at a later period was the late Louis Stahl. The partners presented the old family residence to the township of Chiswick for use as a library in 1897.

The factory was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1899 (Harold Sanderson joining the directorate), and it is now in equipment, and for quality of production, one of the finest in the world.

Arthur Sanderson remained in control of the Berners Street business, which was not absorbed by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., and by his energy and initiative developed its unique position as the premier business of its kind in the distribution of wallpaper. The value of the showroom as an

aid and outlet to sale was recognised very early, and was practically pioneered by this house. It has passed through stages of continual improvement and refinement until it now stands as a model to the whole wallpaper world.

John Sanderson (who died in March, 1915) assisted both his brothers in their respective spheres, and was an important link in the *liaison* between the factory at Chiswick, and the distributing house at Berners Street. He travelled Great Britain and Ireland extensively for the firm, and was extremely well-known in the trade. As a youth he spent six months at Bezault's factory in Paris, where he gained a fluent knowledge of French, as well as some practical information in paper-staining. He attained a very high position in Freemasonry.

Various mechanical improvements and inventions have been perfected at Chiswick, particularly in embossing, where Harold Sanderson's patents have been developed, the process being probably unique in its mechanical and technical efficiency. The reproduction of canvas, silk and texture effects has been carried to the extreme limit of faithful interpretation in an immense wealth of design and colouring. Leather papers have also been a recent speciality of the firm. Another attractive line has been the Aldin and Hassall nursery friezes, originally produced by Lawrence & Jellicoe, but taken over by Sanderson's in 1910.



JOHN W. SANDERSON

The Chiswick factory was one of the first to pay attention to the scientific side of manufacture, and to instal research and chemistry as one of the aids to efficiency and progress, and similarly it has led the way in welfare work towards its employés. In 1900 the firm acquired the blocks and designs of the old established house of Wm. Woollams.

During the period from about 1903 onwards, when the frieze fashion was at its height, the firm produced some amazing works of art in this class, particularly in the scenic type, and those containing figures. Amongst them may be mentioned "The Outlaw" (Plate 198), "The Hunting Frieze" (Plates 218-9), and "The Peacock."

The firm have received the highest award at every exhibition at which they have shown, including :—

The Gold Medal at New Orleans in 1885.

The Grand Prix and Gold Medal at the Franco-British Exhibition in 1908, for which the famous "Peacock" chintz was produced (Plate 155).

The Grand Prix at Turin in 1911.

The Gold Medal at Amsterdam in 1920.

The old-established business of Chas. Knowles & Co. was acquired by Arthur Sanderson and Sons in 1913, and the rollers and blocks were transferred to the Chiswick factory. These include some great and historical designs by leading men of the late Victorian period.

It may be said that the Chiswick productions for the last twenty years have included some of the most exquisite wallpapers ever printed. In turning over any book of their manufactures one is impressed with the genius of Harold Sanderson at every page.

W. B. SIMPSON

FOUNDED in 1833 at 456, West Strand, as "house painters," under the style of W. B. and F. Simpson. The following year W. B. Simpson opened as a "decorative painter" at 84, Newman Street, retaining the Strand premises in his own name.

Some time after this event he commenced paper-staining, and in the "Journal of Design and Manufacture" for 1849, a sample is shown of "Cheap English paper-hangings, cylinder printed by steam," said to have emanated from the firm (Plate 88). The design is a five-colour, and the pin background roller is beautifully fine. In the same volume are two imported papers sold by the firm (probably by Zuber & Co.), printed partly with engraved rollers, and a wallpaper expressly designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A., as a picture background, a three-colour treatment of the red-berried briony, printed by blocks, and manufactured by Simpson's.

At the Exhibition of the Society of Arts in 1849, W. B. Simpson displayed some examples of "Kalsomine" wallpaper-hangings. These attracted the notice of Prince Albert and led to a commission to decorate four of the rooms in the new part of Buckingham Palace. He received the "Gold Iris" Medal of the Society on this occasion. At the 1851 Exhibition the firm displayed some patent "washable" papers in pilaster style, but the precise process of manufacture has not been traced, though it was said to be based on a hardening treatment of distemper colours after printing, and it was claimed that permanence to light was also achieved.

In 1875 the title of the firm was changed to Wm. Butler Simpson & Sons, 100, St. Martin's Lane, and 456, West Strand. In 1879, for the first time, the house is designated "paper-hangings manufacturers" in the Directory. Early in the "Eighties" they brought out a special book from designs by Lewis F. Day, which obtained much favour with many leading architects and decorators, not merely from the originality of the designs, but from the success which attended their use as decorations. About 1893 manufacture was discontinued, but the firm continued and still exists in its original capacity as painters and decorators.

CHARLES SOUTHALL & CO.—SOUTHALL & SNOW— H. SOUTHALL & CO.

THIS business was founded by Charles Southall at 105, Bunhill Row, and was originally concerned, as Charles Southall & Co., with the manufacture of "marbles," "granites," and wood imitations. About 1847 it was removed to Kingsland Road, N.E.

At a later date, probably about 1863, the style of the firm was changed to Southall and Snow, this being the period when "marble" paper was enjoying a tremendous vogue, the firm employing as many as sixty to seventy hand-marblers. On the decline of this style the firm went into engraved mosaic papers, and specialized in this line, and also in tiles. In both these types, commencing in 1892, they ran private patterns in machine, printed for them by Carlisle & Clegg, and also by Allan, Cockshut & Co. One of the designs printed for them by the latter house was a mosaic scroll, the first to be introduced in machine work. It had an immediate and outstanding success, and did much to create the reputation of the firm for mosaics.

They also exploited the floral "sanitary," including the dado, about this time. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1901, they moved their premises to Stamford Hill, and shortly afterwards took up stencilling and block-printing. They produced a very fine range of friezes between 1904 and 1908. In 1907 the style of the firm was changed to H. Southall & Co.; in 1912 it was turned into a limited company. In 1913 they moved again to Shacklewell Lane, Dalston, N.E.



FREDERICK J. SPURWAY

F. J. SPURWAY

THIS business was founded by Frederick John Spurway, who built a factory at Howard Road, Stoke Newington, in 1853.

Before this he had carried on a small paper-staining business in London Wall, where imitation "oaks" were made by hand, the effects being produced by means of brushes and steel combs. Whilst at Stoke Newington he devised a form of washable paper, probably by means of oil colour applied on a surface machine.

He died in 1883, and the business, after being carried on by his executors for a few years, was, in 1887, taken over by one of Potter's travellers, named Hamilton, very well known on the road, and nicknamed "The Duke" by his contemporaries. Hamilton died in 1892, and the business was carried on as a limited company till 1899, when it was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd.

JOHN STATHER & SONS, LTD.

THIS business was established in 1858 by John Stather, a letterpress printer, who in 1853 invented a machine which he patented, and was known as the "Iris" printing machine. The object of the machine was to print bills in several colours simultaneously. John Stather gave a lecture with a demonstration of the possibilities of the machine at the Mechanics' Institute, in Hull, in 1853, and one of the members of the audience, a local decorator, whose name is well known, George Harbron, suggested to the inventor that there were great possibilities in connection with his new machine as a means of producing a washable wallpaper.

The idea appears to have taken root, a machine was built, and an oak paper was printed in oil colours from a metal roller engraved to imitate an oak grain. The first "oaks" printed were printed from the surface. This machine was installed in a small room above a printing shop in No. 8, Dock Street, Hull, and the paper was passed through a slot in the floor, and folded up by hand on the floor in the passage below—apparently a rough approximation of what is now known as "plaiting down." The Stather innovation aroused a great deal of interest in the trade, and a very large demand arose. It is interesting to note that through George Harbron's introduction J. Stather went to Potter's, of Darwen, for his supplies of paper, and they became, so soon as the goods were on the market, one of his biggest customers.

The limited facilities at No. 8, Dock Street, were of no use when the experimental stage was passed, and in 1860 the business was removed to Beverley Road, where "granites," plain stilings, and "marbles" were added to the original set of "oaks." The Stather "granites" and "oaks" were shown at the Great Exhibition in 1862, and there is in existence now at the works a pillar showing the "granite" papers that were used on that occasion, as well as an oak decoration.

It is interesting to record that the Stather firm has printed its "oaks" in three different ways, viz. :—

1. By surface printing from an engraved metal roller (the original process).
2. By means of engraved metal rollers having the surface colour removed by a doctor (the "sanitary" process).
3. By direct print off the actual grain of the wood itself. In this last instance the reproduction was made in twelve-yard pieces without any repeat.

The plain papers and the "granites" were ruled out as blocks by hand, and they commanded a very extensive sale, to such a degree that in 1866 John Stather felt justified in building the factory in Leonard Street, which are the premises that have been occupied by the business from that date.

After the disappearance of "oaks" and "granites," more attention was given to the manufacture of more definitely patterned papers. The particular type that lent itself the most readily to the Stather process was the damask design, and some fine examples of the work of A. F. Brophy and A. Silver have been produced by the firm (Plates 140-1). For a long time this type of pattern, together with plain grounds and semi-plain effects occupied the attention of those concerned with the direction of the business.

Of recent years more emphasis has been placed by the firm on the decorative than the hygienic use of wallpaper. The appropriate use of colour has been a dominating motive, and the productions have consisted largely in softly coloured background effects, accompanied by a large variety of hand-stencilled borders and other decorations. The varnished tile bathroom paper has also been an important feature during this period. In 1890 John Stather died, and the business was subsequently conducted by his two sons, T. and J. W. Stather. In 1899 the company was incorporated. The present chairman is J. W. Stather, son of the founder of the business.

John Stather, senior, was always greatly interested in the technical side of the printers' craft. He was keenly alive to the importance of new mechanical developments, and had



JOHN STATHER

the faculty of originating new methods for the achievement of any purpose he had in view. His outstanding characteristics were probably the patience and perseverance with which he pursued his ideas until he had made of them a working proposition. He had also in a very large degree the faculty of earning the goodwill and active co-operation of those who were associated with him in business.

An interesting point to note is that this business originated entirely independently of all wallpaper influence. The process and the machinery were both devised by John Stather, without contact with any other wallpaper manufacturer, and although so many years have elapsed, the traditional distinctive lines are still followed. Another very interesting feature is that the colours used, in addition to being washable, are quite permanent.

M. SULLIVAN & CO.

THIS business was founded by Matthew Sullivan, who had been in the wallpaper trade all his life, having commenced as a marbler's boy, eventually becoming himself a marbler. His father was a block-printer.

Matthew Sullivan commenced first on his own account in a private house at Goldsmith's Row, Hackney Road, London, E., in 1862, and about a year later moved to Church Row, Bethnal Green, where he had his first workshops and manufactured both "blocks" and "marbles." Shortly afterwards he moved again to factory premises in Prince's Street, where he erected graniting, lining and marbling machines. The business continued to grow, and still larger premises were required. A site was purchased at Bromley-by-Bow, where a factory was erected, together with some houses for the workpeople. Production was started early in 1870, the installation consisting first of a four-colour machine, by F. Turner, of Islington, shortly followed by a two-colour, then another four-colour, and a little later by two more two-colours, all by Turner. An eight-colour was bought later from Pavey's, of Clapham.

When the "sanitary" wallpapers came into vogue a machine was purchased, but though experimented with for twelve months, its running did not give satisfactory results. It was whilst trials were being made to improve this machine that a fire occurred which burnt out the factory, and as it was considered to have been the cause, after rebuilding, the output was confined to surface printing.

M. Sullivan retired from business in 1894, leaving the firm under the control of his eldest son, Matthew, and his son-in-law, who continued to run it until about 1900. Another of M. Sullivan's sons carries on a wallpaper merchant's business at Southend-on-Sea.

JAMES TOLEMAN & SONS

THIS firm was founded by William Colleau about 1838. In 1843 or 1844, James Toleman was taken into partnership, the firm trading as Colleau & Toleman, paper-stainers, 170, Goswell Street (later Goswell Road), and 72, Upper Whitecross Street, St. Luke's. The style of the firm was altered to James Toleman & Sons shortly afterwards. They produced hand-made goods of considerable merit, both "blocks" and "marbles."

With the introduction of machine-printed goods they started to trade in these as merchants, and for a series of years issued some of the best retail pattern-books to the trade, including stand books of blocks of their own manufacture. In the "Seventies" and "Eighties" they were celebrated for their dados, and are credited with having originated the staircase dado to "rake" with the rise of the steps. In 1888 they brought out some block-printed tiles on "marble" grounds, which were a novelty. On their giving up business in 1897, a few years after James Toleman's death, their blocks were bought by Perry & Co., Jeffrey & Co., Essex & Co., and others.

TOWNSEND, PARKER & CO.

THIS block-printing house was founded by John Townsend at 109, Goswell Street, London, in 1819, or even earlier. In 1836 the title was changed to Townsend, Parker & Townsend, and the following year a branch establishment was opened at 54, Oxford Street. In 1842, the style changed to Townsend, Parker & Co., and about this time they began to produce Owen Jones' designs in simple Gothic styles, all the samples bearing on the back the characteristic monogram of an O pierced with a long J.

The house was a very important one, and Aumonier refers to it as "renowned for the magnificence of their work." In addition to their block work they specialized in wood imitation. They were one of the earliest houses to intensively develop the manufacture of "flock" papers of single layer in imitation of velvet damasks, and had a high reputation for the excellence of their flowered chintzes.

In 1849 the firm received the Silver Medal of the Society of Arts. The exceptionally fine pilaster decoration which they exhibited at the Great Exhibition in 1851 is reproduced in colour on (Plate 101). They were awarded a Prize Medal, and were the only English firm so honoured.

The business appears to have ceased shortly after this event, and as a portion of the Exhibition pilaster decoration was subsequently exhibited by Scott, Cuthbertson & Co., it seems probable that some at least of the Townsend-Parker blocks were acquired by this house.

JOHN TRUMBLE & SONS—WILLIAM COOKE & SONS —SMITH & BUTLER

THIS sequence of Leeds paper-stainers originated in the 18th century, when R. & H. Pickering carried on a block-printing business, which in 1798, was located in St. Peter's Square, and which appears to have been established even prior to that date. In 1814 it was trading in the name of H. Pickering & Sons, at 7, York Street. These two streets are back-to-back, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the principals lived in the Square with communication through to the works in York Street. In 1820 Hastings Pickering died at the age of 70 years.

In 1826 the two younger Pickerings lived at 34, St. Peter's Square, and are described as "gentlemen," whilst the business was then carried on by Sedman & Weddell, at 42, York Street, these two residing at 22 and 23, St. Peter's Square, so that it may be assumed that some time previous to this date the business changed hands. In any event, in the 1829 Directory, Sedman & Weddell are recorded as the proprietors. Sedman & Weddell sold the business between 1841 and 1846 to John Trumble, a Huddersfield painter, who, either then or at a later date, requiring additional capital, took William Cooke into partnership, trading as Trumble & Cooke. This was the title of the firm in 1846. Cooke was the son of a paper-maker at Richmond, Yorkshire, and a condition of the partnership was the supply of paper from the Richmond Mill. He interested himself more in the mechanical than the artistic side of the business.



JOHN TRUMBLE

The partnership lasted until 1856, the premises running from the Square to the Street as before. John Trumble continued in the old place alone as J. Trumble & Co., taking his two sons, George and Frederick into partnership later, whilst William Cooke started a new business



FRED TRUMBLE

at Grove Works, Clay Pit Lane, Leeds, in his own name. J. Trumble & Sons, exhibited at the 1862 Exhibition and received a Gold Medal. One of the designs then displayed was a pilaster type of decoration with corners, probably by James Huntington, which remained current for twenty-five years.

It is not clear at what period these two Leeds firms started machine-printing, but Cooke developed a remarkable success in hand-printed papers. In this venture he was ably supported by the brothers Thomas and Edwin Wild, who combined the position of travellers, designers and colourists. In all these capacities they were very skilful and successful, but the genius of the family was Thomas Wild's son, Harry Watkins Wild, who specialised as a designer and colourist. In 1886 William Cooke took the elder Wilds into partnership, and in 1892 he retired. A year later the business was wound up, Chas. Knowles & Co. and John Line & Sons buying the blocks jointly, and Lightbown, Aspinall & Co. the rollers. H. W. Wild transferred his services to Sanderson's.

At their zenith, William Cooke & Sons were among the most notable houses in the trade. They were appointed "Makers to Queen Victoria," after the Prince Consort's bedroom at Balmoral had been papered with a Cooke green "flock" paper, with a fleur-de-lys in gold. They were pioneers in lustre papers, and brought out a special line in block about 1879, called "Golden Lustre Silks," a feature of which was the powdering of the mica ground with gold dust. A very well-known member of the firm was John Eland.

Returning to the other and older Leeds house, George Trumble died in 1881, and John, who had retired to Bournemouth, also died about 1889. F. Trumble carried on the business alone as John Trumble & Sons, but confined himself to machine work, except for gilding at second process by hand, having somewhat impetuously abandoned the block production about 1879, when, after having prepared and coloured his collection, he sold the whole of the blocks, designs, and stock, etc., to W. N. Froy, of Hammersmith.

In 1887 F. Trumble sold his business to John Barran (afterwards Sir John Barran, Bart.), who carried it on in partnership with his son Alfred until 1897, when he retired. Edgar Smith, who had been well known to the Barrans a long time for his exquisite work in illuminations, was appointed to the designing and artistic staff. Alfred Barran was in sole control of the business up to 1899, when The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. was formed. He sold the factory to them and accepted a seat on the board. F. Trumble died about 1913.



WILLIAM COOKE

An offshoot from the Cooke failure was the block-printing house of Caldwell & Cardis, founded in East Street, Leeds, in 1893, by two block-cutters, one of the two, John Cardis, having been in the employ of the old firm. Being short of capital, Cardis, about 1897, was joined by Edgar Fincham, the style of the firm becoming Fincham & Co. They confined themselves to hand-printed goods, and they also were taken over by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1899. In 1902, owing to decline in demand for block goods the factory was closed, and the connection and blocks transferred to Essex & Co.

In 1904, owing to the demand for increased and more modern accommodation, the Trumble works in York Street was moved to Harehills, where a new factory on the most up-to-date lines was established.

In 1907 another house developed from the Trumble stock in Smith & Butler, which started manufacture in Cardigan Fields. Both the partners had received their wallpaper training in the older factory, the former as a designer, the latter as foreman and manager. Thomas Taylor Butler was a well-known figure in the musical and artistic life of Leeds. Smith & Butler confined themselves to sound commercial medium-grade surface machine work, and prospered by avoiding the extravagances to which a more ambitious policy might have led. T. T. Butler retired in 1912, and died in 1913. The business was absorbed by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1915, and was transferred to Harehills, the Cardigan Fields factory being closed. Edgar Smith joined the board of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., and at a later date became chairman.

DAVID WALKER

THIS business at Suffield Mills, Middleton, was originally started by the Middleton and Tonge Paper Staining Co., Ltd., in March, 1886, with two "sanitary" machines in a small factory.

David Walker entered the firm in June, 1888, as sole manager, and eventually purchased the concern. He was originally foreman colour-mixer for a calico print works at Burnley, and from 1882 manager of the calico printing department of John Lancaster, of Harpurhey, Manchester. A gradual extension of plant and factory followed, but throughout he confined himself to the "sanitary" or engraved roller process.

Two of his machines, each to take twelve colours, were the largest in the world, and the secret of his success and the great reputation he built up for quality lay partly in the fact that he never stinted his designs in the number of rollers used to produce a desired result. He was also extraordinarily particular as to the quality of paper and colour used, and he was fortunate in the retention of the services of a very clever and versatile designer, George F. Jackson.

There was a tone and "sweetness" in David Walker's engraving, as also in his colour schemes, which placed him in front of any of his contemporaries. He was particularly happy in his floral designs and in his deep dados, the delicacy of effect being quite remarkable. It was probably this quality which influenced that most gifted artist and friend of Ruskin, Kate Greenaway, to entrust to the Middleton firm the production of the famous nursery filling and frieze, based on her birthday book and almanac. The deep frieze represented the seasons, and the filling the months of the year (Plate 182). The design, which first appeared in 1893, was originally engraved to be printed with twelve colour rollers, but subsequently it was reduced successively to eight and to six, as a better impression resulted from these simplifications. The design became a classic, and is still current.

The David Walker business was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1899, after an abortive attempt at a minor combination in 1898. The mill was closed down, and the personnel, plant, designs, and connection transferred to Lightbown, Aspinall's in 1901.

WALKER, CARVER & CO.

THIS firm was founded in 1885 by John Walker and Harry Carver, both of whom were originally at Lightbown, Aspinall & Co.'s at the time when the "sanitary" boom was in its period of exploitation.

John Walker was trained at Heywood, Higginbottom & Smith's, and having introduced multi-colour engraved printing at Lightbown, Aspinall & Co.'s, he developed it further on his own account. In their early days they specialised in "sanitaries," and did a good deal of printing for other factories. Their success was immediate and cumulative, necessitating increase of plant to keep pace with the demand for their goods.

In 1890 Walker Carver's brought out and patented a line of goods known as "Sanitum Wall Papers." These consisted of oil-colour designs printed with surface rollers in a surface-printing machine, and in October, 1894, they received the Medal Award of the Sanitary Congress, held at Liverpool. The firm was made into a limited company in 1896. The business was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1899, after failure of an attempt at a smaller combination in 1898, and both John Walker and Harry Carver became members of the directorate. The former died in 1909.

From 1901 to 1914 this mill was the scene of a great effort in mass production of cheap goods, The Wall Paper Manufacturers' "specials" or fighting lines being exclusively manufactured there for delivery in the North of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the Osborn & Shearman factory at Fulham making duplicate goods for the South and for export. During this period costs were greatly reduced by long runs and high output, whilst wallpaper prices were cut "to ribbons." From 1915 onwards the policy was changed, and under H. Carver's capable direction, the mill has since produced sound commercial patterns in all medium grades, with a healthy percentage of originality.

W. G. WILKINS & CO.

THIS firm was originally founded at Derby in 1880, as the outgrowth of a wholesale wallpaper business carried on by Wilkins & Ellis.

The founder, W. G. Wilkins, was the son of the original partner in the Wilkins & Ellis business, the family for generations being actively connected with public work in Derby. In addition to their wallpaper business, they carried on a printing and bookselling connection, publishing the first penny and half-penny newspapers produced in the town. In 1880 a small factory was started for wallpaper-making, and three years later W. G. Wilkins took over complete control. The business was turned into a limited company in 1886, and in 1894 W. G. Wilkins entered the Town Council, and ultimately became an Alderman. A very well-known employé of the firm at this time was John Walker, who later went into business as a merchant at Liverpool.

In 1890 a new factory was built to house the extension demanded by the business, which was one mainly of manufacture of the cheaper grades. In 1897, however, a beautiful "Diamond Jubilee" decoration was produced, which was an exceedingly fine achievement. The business was absorbed by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1899, after a partial attempt at combination by some six firms in 1898, and which proved abortive. Late in 1902 a disastrous fire occurred at Derby, and as a result the Wilkins' connection was transferred to Golborne, the new factory built on the old site being used to accommodate the Carlisle and Clegg branch transferred from London. On the outbreak of War in August, 1914, the Golborne factory was closed.

WILLIAMS, COOPERS & BOYLE

THIS old firm of block-printers originated late in the 18th century, and was located at 85, West Smithfield, in 1789, the proprietor then being Joseph Taylor. It is probable that this is the Taylor referred to in page 59 as visiting the Continent to review concurrent development. Between 1803 and 1806 the firm apparently passed into the hands of Williams & Coopers. In 1819 the style was changed to Williams, Coopers, Boyle & Fisher.

The firm held a prominent position in the trade in the beginning and middle of the last century with a large factory, and produced many beautiful papers with gold-leaf. On the invention of continuous-length paper about 1828, Williams, Coopers & Co. made three successive applications for permission to use it; but those in authority persistently refused it until it was introduced by the French a few years afterwards.

About 1820 apparently, Fisher and Boyle left the firm, and William Boyle commenced on his own account at 121, Newgate Street, as a paper-hanging manufacturer, moving to Ludgate Hill in 1837, and joining Johnston & Easthope, who also did decorating and painting. This business at Ludgate Hill had been associated with paper-staining since 1765, when it was founded by Robert Stark, changing to Johnson & Young in 1785. The old firm of Williams, Coopers & Co. carried on at the old address, and in 1838 Cornelius Boyle apparently rejoined it, as his name is coupled with it from that year.

In 1846 the other firm at Ludgate Hill was also re-arranged, trading as Wm. Boyle and Co. until 1861, when they apparently went out of business. Williams, Coopers, Boyle & Co. were amongst those exhibiting at the Crystal Palace in 1851, and displayed some handsome damasks for dining-rooms, and a new method of combining metal and "flock." They, too, gave up their interest in wallpaper about 1860, and the factory was taken over by the Corporation, and formed part of the site cleared for the Meat Market.

WILLIAM WOOLLAMS & CO.—JOHN WOOLLAMS & CO.

THROUGHOUT its history the celebrated house of William Woollams was justly famed for its hand-made papers and "flocks." It avoided machine-printing on principle, and gloried in its conservatism. A firm, Woollams & Co., was in existence as far back as 1807, as the following extract from Kent's Directory for that year shows:—

"Wollams & Co., paper-stainers, Vine Street, Picadilly."

In the same Directory for 1814:—

"W. Woollams, paper-hanger, Wigmore Street."

In the Post Office Directory of 1823, and in Pigot's Directory of 1825, the name of John Woollams, 69, Marylebone Street, appears as a paper-stainer, and he was afterwards at Oxford Street, where the business was purely that of distribution. In Pigot's Directory for 1822, also 1828, there appears William Woollams, 31, Wigmore Street and Little Edward's Street, Regent's Park. The latter appears again in the Directory for 1836. As an apprentice the first William Woollams, who was born in 1782, learned his trade of the great John Sherringham, of Great Marlboro' Street, "the Wedgwood of paper-stainers," as Mawer Cowtan called him.



WILLIAM WOOLLAMS (the younger)

As Sherringham died before young Woollams' apprenticeship of seven years was finished, he completed the term of his indenture with George Cooke, of the New Road (now called Marylebone Street). He then started on his own account as a painter, decorator, and paper-stainer, at 31, Wigmore Street, where he set up a "table" in the front kitchen, also owned a paper-stainer's workshop in Jew's Harp Yard, Albany Street (now absorbed in Regent's Park), and in 1837 he established a factory at 110, High Street, Marylebone, his wife printing the first piece of wallpaper therein. He, like his great teacher Sherringham, rose to great heights amongst his contemporaries, and printed some of the private designs for the well-known decorative house of Crace, early in the 19th century.

On his death in 1840, he was succeeded by his three sons, William, Thomas, and Henry, the last named and youngest inheriting by far the largest share of his father's artistic ability. Later they separated, William Woollams, the second, and his brother Henry carrying on at High Street, Marylebone, as paper-stainers, whilst Thomas continued alone a painting and decorating business at 31, Wigmore Street. The second William Woollams died in 1859, and his brother Henry in 1876. They had worked well together as partners.

The earliest public recognition of the merits of their productions was the award of the Society of Arts in 1848, for a rich pilaster design, composed of no less than 120 blocks. The "Journal of Design and Manufacture" for 1849, contains two good block papers by the firm, one a two print on an attractive muslin underground, and the other an ivy-leaf design, having the dark green printed in a shiny colour like lacquer, which is both true to nature, and also very pleasing in effect (Plate 89).

Of the muslin-ground paper the journal remarked:—

"This pattern fairly challenges comparison with that of the French paper given in a previous number. The groups are tastefully designed and connected together, and they are well distributed over the muslin-like background. For rooms of south and south-west aspects in country residences, a more cleanly, quiet, yet lively-looking paper could not be desired. It is particularly suited for a lady's boudoir, and would also have the advantage of enlarging the appearance of any room where it is used."

Of the other is remarked:—

"This is certainly the best adaptation of the ivy to a paper-hanging we have seen. The drawing is good, and the treatment of colouring very agreeable. There are many rooms that, if hung with it, would look fresh and lively all the year round."

The firm exhibited at the Great Exhibition in 1851 (William Woollams, 110, High Street, Marylebone). John Woollams & Co., Oxford Street, and 69, Marylebone Lane, also exhibited on this occasion, displaying "flocks," damasks, florals, and borders, the latter both hand and machine-printed. In the "Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue" the following reference is made to William Woollams' exhibit:—

"Messrs. Woollams, of London, exhibit a great variety of new and beautiful designs in paper-hangings, a branch of the industrial arts which has received much improvement during the last quarter-of-a-century in England; perhaps we may safely assert that there is scarcely any one trade in which greater progress is visible. The reputation for good design and tasteful colouring which the continental houses almost monopolised is now abundantly shared by the home-producer, and very deservedly, inasmuch as the character of each style, and the taste of each age have been studied, and its most characteristic features applied with success to the adornment of our walls."

The illustrations portray an elongated panel decoration in the Italian period, a Persian design of set O.G. character, and a Moorish panel decoration (Plate 99). The sixty to seventy blocks used in the first named were said to cost £140, a very large outlay for a single design in those days.

In 1863 a novel experiment was tried, the firm sending out a special set of patterns, all of mediaeval design by G. T. Robinson, F.R.I.B.A., upon which the *Athenaeum*, *Builder*, *Art Journal*, and *Building News*, made the most complimentary remarks. Sir Digby Wyatt was employed by the firm to design a "Cinque-Cento" decoration for the Exhibition in Paris in 1867.

Henry Woollams had considerable practical experience in the workshops, and took great interest in all the manufacturing processes which he was always trying to improve. He was of a happy genial disposition and greatly beloved by all his workpeople. He amassed a considerable fortune.

The control on Henry Woollams' death in 1876 passed to his cousin, Frederic Aumonier, a gentleman who had been his active assistant since 1853, who inherited from his Huguenot ancestors some of those qualities of art and craft which made them justly famous, and who from that time onward worthily maintained the reputation of the house, assisted by Charles J. Webbe, who was taken into partnership in 1897.

To Aumonier is due the credit for the introduction of "stamped gold" papers in 1864, embossed leather papers in 1866, and modelling the surface of raised "flocks" in 1878. He patented the latter process in 1877, an important feature being the moulding under pressure with a heated die after printing. This produced a result like carving, with no loss of the delicate softness of flock, and was a great improvement on the old-fashioned "flock" or *velouté*, which was simply an imitation of velvet. The *Art Journal* refers to this invention as follows:—

"Mr. William Woollams, who has long been at the head of the wallpaper manufacture of England, has recently patented a very remarkable improvement in his important art; an art that is an essential in all houses, patrician or plebeian. The new paper we call attention to is necessarily, comparatively speaking, costly, unless its great superiority in many respects be considered. It is a "flock" paper; its novel feature being that the design is raised considerably above the level of the surrounding ground, and is afterwards embossed or modelled by pressure so perfectly that any effects a skilful artist can create by modelling, chasing, or carving in bas-relief, can be readily produced, with so great a truthfulness of expression that the artistic excellence of the work cannot fail to commend itself to all persons of cultivated taste. The eye at once notes the superiority of these above the old flocks. The designs (such of them as we have seen) are pure and good. They are made in coloured flock, with or without gold, ready for use in every variety of tint, and also in white or undyed flock for painting over, if required. They are especially suited for dining-rooms and libraries, but no doubt the patentee will be able to supply the public with this paper in designs and colours suitable for the drawing-room."

Frederic Aumonier also played an important part in the abolition of arsenic from wallpaper colours. His sister, Louisa Aumonier, was a designer of considerable ability.



FREDERIC AUMONIER

In 1885 a new range of goods called "Tergorine" leathers was introduced. The firm secured eighteen Gold, Silver and Bronze Medals at Exhibitions prior to 1890, including Gold Medals at the International Health Exhibition, 1884, and the Paris Exhibition of 1889. The *tour de force* on the last occasion was "Queen Bess," in ruby "flock" and gold, designed by J. A. Gotch (Plate 184). A. F. Brophy did a lot of work for the firm, and other famous designers working for them were G. T. Robinson, C. F. A. Voysey, George C. Haité, Owen W. Davis and T. W. Hay. In later years should be mentioned the names of Arthur Silver, Louisa Aumonier, Catchpole, W. Valentine Aspen, and Miss Bywaters.

In 1883 the firm displayed a wonderful Venetian tapestry containing ninety-four colours, printed from thirty-eight blocks, at the Agricultural Hall. In 1887 they made a display at the Manchester Jubilee Exhibition, showing designs by Voysey, Sedding, Brophy, and L. Aumonier, an Adam design by Brophy being particularly notable. Their "flocks" were of specially fine quality called "Cheviots," being made from goat's hair. At the Chicago Exhibition in 1893, they showed an extensive range of blended "flocks" called "Chameleon Flocks," from their property of reflecting light in tints of varying intensity.

In 1895 and probably in deference to commercial pressure, the firm included in their range of goods a number of private designs machine-printed for them elsewhere. Their productions this year included works by George C. Haité, C. F. A. Voysey, and Arthur Silver. One of Voysey's designs, "The Roseberry," which had been made specially for the Chicago Exhibition just previously, was supplied in two sizes, viz.:—42"×42", and also 21"×21", a rather original tribute to the merits of a design. In 1897 the firm gained a Gold Medal at the Victorian Art Exhibition at Earl's Court. On this occasion they exhibited wallpapers of every year, from Queen Victoria's accession up to date (60 years).

The firm was wound up in 1900, but whilst it has been held that their failure was due to their refusal to acknowledge the advance and success of machine-printed goods, it is only just to record that during the ten years prior to their closing down, hand-printed goods had been very hard pressed by new articles placed on the market, which competed in the price range occupied by the best grades, such as Leathers, Lignomur, Anaglypta, Lincrusta, Tynecastle, Cameoid, Cordelova, Canvas and its imitations. There was also a swing of fashion towards plain walls, and to the subordination of design to colour and finish, to which, of course, machine-work lent itself very readily and inexpensively. A. Sanderson & Sons took over the blocks and designs, including the trade-mark, two lambs underneath a bale of wool, with which all samples were stamped.

The firm of John Woollams does not appear to have contributed so materially to the manufacturing history of the period, and was acquired by Chas. Knowles & Co. in 1900. One of its machine-papers of 1849 is illustrated in Plate 94. Its founder, John Woollams, is believed to have been the fourth son of the first William Woollams.

WYLIE & LOCHHEAD

THE firm of Wylie & Lochhead, a household word throughout Scotland, and also renowned further afield among the highest grade of house and ship furnishers and decorators, was established in Glasgow by Robert Wylie and William Lochhead nearly a century ago.

In the development of their business they acquired a large and valuable trade in wall-papers, and decided to manufacture the goods on their own account at Kent Road, Glasgow, in the year 1854. Their first productions were from printing-blocks, and as the Paisley shawl trade was then in its heyday, an adequate provision of skilled block-printers was available at their door, in addition to block-printers accustomed to calico work.

The business developed until with fifty-six printing tables in constant operation at the close of the "Sixties," it was recognised to be one of the largest of its kind in the kingdom. To their colour-print papers they had added in the late "Fifties" a range of goods ornamented with stamped leaf-gold, the gold being applied by brass dies to designs which had been partially produced in colours, as well as to plain coloured grounds, and flocked papers in which the design ornament was in gold-leaf alone. These goods were known to the trade as "stamped golds." The firm having a monopoly in them for some years, a trade was acquired which employed nine stamping presses, and two of a cylinder type, for a considerable period. A patent to improve this process was applied for by John Wylie and James Rew in 1865.

In 1857 the firm supplemented their collections of hand-prints and "stamped golds" by an important range of machine-printed goods, and having no plant for their production, they arranged for their manufacture by the late William Snape, at Livesey Fold, Darwen (afterwards known as the Darwen Paper Staining Co.)

In 1858 the new industry met with a serious set-back through a fire, which not only destroyed entirely the premises in which it was carried on, but also all designs, printing-blocks, and even the pattern-books about to be issued for the new season's trade. This entailed the loss of a whole year's production.

In spite of this disaster, the loss was made good, and the trade increased to such proportions that the firm decided to launch out upon a larger scale, and also to employ machinery in producing goods for their own requirements, as well as in competition with the older established factories across the Border. They acquired a site for a factory at Whiteinch, on the river bank, four miles out of Glasgow, where the building was erected, machinery installed, the hand-printing and "stamped gold" plants transferred, and in 1862 printing by both processes was commenced.

Whiteinch at that date being a small village, with no surplus accommodation for the influx of workers employed at the factory, and no daily transport service for passengers from and to the city, the firm was faced with two difficulties respecting the successful running of their new factory. They, however, faced both squarely, and erected on a portion of their surplus ground adjoining the factory, for the accommodation of their employés a tenement of houses, which was known locally as "Wylie's Land," and started a service of buses to convey their workers from and to the city at convenient hours. This service they developed into a public one and ultimately disposed of it to another company.

The hand-printed and "stamped gold" papers were still the basis and strength of the firm's production, while the machine-made section was catered for by two printing machines only. Gradually, however, the machine-made goods increased in volume, owing no doubt partly to their lower market prices, but also to their increasing artistic merit and decorative value, and during the "Sixties" and "Seventies" they gradually superseded the hand-made goods, until twenty-three machines were required.



ROBERT WYLIE

Robert Wylie personally took a kindly interest in the comfort and well-being of his work-people, and to the young of both sexes employed at the factory he presented at Christmas, shoes and stockings, and warm coats and shawls to protect them from cold on their way to and from the factory.

The first manager of the factory was the late John Wylie, a son of the founder of the firm, but when for reasons of health he was compelled to reside in the South of England, the management developed upon Colin McArthur, who ultimately emigrated to Canada and opened a factory in Montreal. McArthur was succeeded by John Lloyd, of Church, Lancashire, who, besides being a son-in-law of Robert Wylie, had been brought up to the calico-printing business. He in turn was followed by Robert McMaster, who later joined a department of the management at the Belgrave Mills of C. & J. G. Potter, in Darwen. John Wylie, the present representative of the firm on the directorate of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., who became responsible for the management upon the retirement of Robert McMaster in 1884, had joined the factory in 1876, and received a training in all the processes, commencing his career at a printing table.

The application of "satinette" to wallpaper was first introduced to the trade by John Wylie about 1885. As a result of experiment he evolved a mixture consisting of finely ground mica, treated with suitable size, which could be applied direct from the colour-boxes, not only to grounding, but to printing, and the resultant effect was softer and more decorative than the older process of sprinkling coarse-grain mica on the wet ground. He christened the new range "Satinettes," which became the recognised name for these goods. The trade so much preferred the effect that the old talc or mica ground was gradually superseded, and shortly afterwards the process itself was condemned by the Home Office as being injurious to the health of the operatives, as the talc dust was thrown into the workrooms very profusely and could not be kept under control.

Prior to this John Wylie introduced from America the machine-gold, manufactured by means of the "bronze-box," gold size being applied in the printing machine, and the metal dusted on mechanically, whilst the fixative was still in an adhesive condition. This innovation had a serious effect on the hand-printed golds, applied as an after-process to machine-printed goods, as it was so much more cheaply and efficiently produced.

The firm, as large buyers of foreign as well as British wallpapers for their business at 45, Buchanan Street, were always keenly interested in high-class artistic goods, their aim being the improvement of their own productions in that respect, spared no expense in procuring the best and most artistic designs obtainable, and employed at the factory high-grade artists to further this object. They acquired a high reputation for the excellence of their best class "sanitary" papers, particularly in fillings and friezes treated in stencil effects, the designs for which were all from the pencil of their own artist, Arthur Gwatkin, a follower of the William Morris and Walter Crane schools (Plates 173, 193, 194). Gwatkin was originally trained in wallpaper work at Hayward's.

Another novelty which met with much appreciation was a range of high-grade "sanitary" papers, embellished by hand-printed outlines and blotches. Those effects were ultimately produced entirely by machinery through the employment of copper and wooden rollers in combination on the same machine. The firm also introduced a range of embossed papers called "Crown Relief," of high quality in design and treatment.

The situation of the factory upon the banks of the Clyde was favourable to the cultivation of an export trade, and ultimately a splendid colonial and foreign trade was established. Certain markets were specially catered for in the matter of designs and colourings, as for instance, India, to which were allotted a range of designs representing episodes in the

lives of Buddhist deities, as well as one of British designs in Oriental colourings. Colonial markets were also keenly canvassed with gratifying results, both by direct representatives and resident agents.

A valuable trade was also established in the principal Continental countries, where the goods were quoted for in the currency of each country at prices covering for duty, sea freight, and inland carriage. Warehouses were opened in London and Manchester. The business was acquired by The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1899. When concentration became the order of the day, the Whiteinch factory was closed in 1905, and the staff and plant transferred to Darwen.

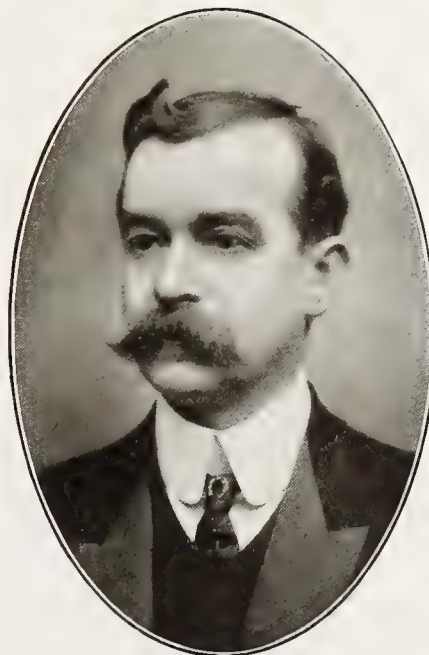
Amongst leading designers whose work has been produced by Wylie & Lochhead, are Arthur Gwatkin, Battley & Davis, C. F. A. Voysey, Arthur Silver, Sidney Haward, Jessie M. King, Patrick Donnelly, and Owen W. Davis.

YATES, DAUNCEY & DAWSON

THIS firm originated at Radcliffe, Lancashire, in 1892, being an offshoot from Osborn and Shearman, at Chelsea. Of the partners, D. W. Yates was Darwen born, had learned his trade at Potter's, and had risen from teirer to colour-mixer there. At Chelsea he passed through successive stages as printer, foreman, and finally manager. S. H. Dauncey had been engaged on the travelling staff of Osborn & Shearman. Later the firm was joined by another Osborn & Shearman employé, W. Dawson, and the style altered to Yates, Dauncey & Dawson. F. W. Howarth, who had been trained at Potter's, Darwen, became principal designer in 1895.

The venture was completely successful, the aim being to specialise in cheap goods. The accommodation at Radcliffe being insufficient, plans for a large extension were prepared, which, however, were not carried into effect, owing to the formation of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1899. The Golborne factory of Mitchell, Arnott & Co. offered sufficient scope for both businesses, and the Yates-Dauncey firm was transplanted, S. H. Dauncey joining the board of The Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. In 1904 S. H. Dauncey and W. Dawson retired, and the management of the whole factory passed into the hands of D. W. Yates, who took a seat on the board, assisted by his three sons and son-in-law.

D. W. Yates died in 1914. He was a man of unusual mechanical gifts, and several improvements in manufacture owe their origin to his ingenuity. In 1898 he patented a device to supply wallpaper with perforated selvages, so as to obviate the need for trimming. This innovation was not wholly successful, as the ends tended to come off prematurely if not carefully handled, and the joint on the wall was not quite so neat as the trimmed edge. In 1906 he perfected the most reliable automatic measuring apparatus which has probably been ever conceived, the lengths being absolutely uniform. Just before his death he was engaged on an attempt to wind up into pieces without the use of a spindle, and prior to that he demonstrated a lay-out for two-process printing by means of tandem machines.



DOCTOR W. YATES

RAISED MATERIALS FOR RELIEF DECORATIONS

INTRODUCTION

by Frank Palmer, B.Sc.

ALL modern relief decorations are derived from three main sources. These are stucco work, timber work, both carved and panelled, and embossed leather decorations. By embossing it is also possible to imitate tapestry and silk damask effects. Each of these sources has not only had its influence on the whole of modern reliefs, but also each has produced a decoration quite distinct from that derived from the other two.

The oldest of these sources is stucco work: not only the oldest, but very much the oldest, for whereas the other two sources did not make their appearance until well into the Christian Era, stucco work was used thousands of years B.C. In Mesopotamia examples of stucco relief decorations have been unearthed which are considered to date back as far as 3,000 years B.C. This stucco is an ancient form of plaster, though the material used must have been very much superior to present-day plaster: one can, in fact, hardly imagine the modern products defying the disintegrating influence of time and weather for nearly 5,000 years.

Hardly less wonderful in their durability are the stucco-duro decorations which have recently been uncovered in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Some of these examples are truly beautiful in their conception and execution, and apparently they are just as durable as the stone to which they are applied. The style of these decorations is that of the grotesque or arabesque.

With the fall of the Roman Empire the art of the stuccoist and the secret of the materials used was lost, and although stucco work was still executed, it was not until the period of the Italian Renaissance in the 15th century that the secret was re-discovered. The material used as the principal component of this stucco-duro was carbonate of lime, in the form of marble dust or ground volcanic rock.

During the time when stucco work was to a great extent in abeyance on the Continent, and also during our early English times, the decoration used for covering walls was either timber work or tapestry; the wall being often panelled in timber, sometimes carved, but more often panelled with plain mouldings. The material used was chiefly oak, since in England, at any rate, there was in those times plenty of this most durable timber. In Norman times there was an increase in carving in timber, the craftsmen who introduced this ornamentation no doubt being brought over from the Continent to embellish the castles which were being built or taken over by the Norman nobles.

In the 12th century, in Spain principally,* the use of leather began as a covering for walls. How it first came to be used is not certain; whether it was the result of a search for

* Th. Wolff, a German authority, ascribes the introduction of this type of decoration to the town of Cordova, in the 11th century.

something more durable and more sanitary than tapestry hangings, or whether it was a matter of caprice. In any case it was very soon found to be a good medium for embossing, and was largely used as embossed leather highly decorated in enamel and oil paints, so that its surface became highly impervious and sanitary. Italy and Holland also specialised in decorated leather hangings. Usually the leather was silvered, polished, and covered with gold-coloured varnish, upon which the pattern was impressed with wooden moulds and the ground indented with punches. At a later stage painting was also practised. These leathers may be regarded as the true forerunners of present-day embossed fillings.

This style of decoration of walls was never very largely adopted in England. In the 15th century, Italy, which had been the nursery of the stucco decorations, sent workmen all over Europe, ornamenting dwelling-houses and public buildings with stucco work, and interiors and often exteriors, especially on the Continent, were painted in tempers colours.

The extensive use of stucco or modelled ornament may be said to have been introduced into England in the 16th century by Italian craftsmen. In those days all the ornamentation and modelling was done *in situ* by the actual craftsman himself. He prepared his own designs, and decorated as fancy pleased him. British craftsmen took up the work, and at first endeavoured to imitate the design and modelling of the Italian craftsmen, but here they fell short, neither were they artists with generations of craftsmen at the same work behind them, nor had they the instinct or the training which would enable them to equal the Italian work, with its fine modellings of figures and animal shapes.

Many examples of work done by British craftsmen of this period exist, such as, for example, the friezes at Hardwick Old Hall, in Derbyshire, representing giants and fantastic figures, and an overmantel in the State bedroom at the same place representing Orpheus playing to the beasts. The modelling of the figures and animals is crude, and shows a lack of knowledge of anatomy.

The British craftsman soon tired of this inferiority, and began to strike out a line for himself. He began to use plain and ornamental ribs in geometrical shape, and to produce a style of his own, and so commenced a style of decoration which developed into what we term the Tudor and Elizabethan styles.

At the same time, whilst the practice of stucco decoration was gaining favour and being extensively used, the material for stucco was becoming harder to obtain, and a substitute which was cheaper, and more easily prepared, was soon found in lime plaster, then known as parge material, sometimes with, but more often without, plaster of Paris. This parge plaster was practically identical with our present-day plaster, now almost always used on interior walls. This material is much less durable than the old-time stucco, but is more easily prepared.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, it was quite a common thing for relief plaster work to be executed on the exterior of buildings, but this form of relief decoration has now practically disappeared. During this period, after the British craftsman had struck out his own line, some very beautiful work, mainly on ceilings, was executed, the general theme being geometrical figures in plaster moulding, plain or enriched with modelling, many of which are in perfect preservation to this day. A notable example of this type of decoration is a vaulted ceiling at Canons Ashby, in Northamptonshire, the centre pendant being about three feet in depth. (This ceiling was reproduced in every detail in Anaglypta for the British Royal Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition of 1900).

During the reign of Elizabeth the art of the plasterer ran riot through the country, and almost every house of any pretensions had its plaster relief decorations in and out, and all over it. This fashion continued through the reigns of James and Charles, and began to decay in the troubled times of the Commonwealth. It revived again later, but never to the same extent.

The Renaissance period gave us some very fine work, we imported the rococo styles of Louis XIV., XV. and XVI., and produced the styles termed Elizabethan, Tudor, The Adam, Chippendale, and Georgian. The day of the ordinary craftsman, in which each individual used his own designs, and his own discretion as to design and modelling, passed, and the day of the master-craftsman who designed and had his design executed according to his judgment approached. Thus we get many examples of Adam and Chippendale relief decorations, which were simply executed to the design of the master mind. Grinling Gibbons, for example, whose work in wood carving is so well-known, had numerous men under him, craftsmen indeed, but not artists.

Plaster relief work is now seldom executed *in situ*, as in the older days. Plaster of Paris is generally used in relief decorations, and here we have a material which sets hard in a very short time, which can be easily cast in gelatine or plaster moulds, taken to the site and fixed by adhesives. In this way we arrive at our own present time fibrous plaster-work, which is plaster of Paris cast in moulds, and reinforced by insertion of canvas, and in the larger pieces by timber and canvas.

During the whole of this period, namely from the 12th to the beginning of the 19th century, panelled wood, carved wood, and embossed leathers were continually used, together with tapestries and silk damasks, which were introduced in France about the 14th century, for interior decoration, and although tapestries and silks cannot, strictly speaking, be termed relief decoration, their use is still relevant in the development of present-day reliefs. An immediate forerunner, was of course, the raised "flock," which itself was a descendant from the velvet hangings of the Middle Ages.

The 20th century saw what one might term the first of the substitutes; that is to say, a class of decorative material which imitated one or more of the former classes mentioned. The first substitutes were Tynecastle Tapestry and Lincrusta-Walton, which at first imitated the embossed leathers, and the lower relief plaster work. They were made in lengths and hung like wallpaper, by means of paste. Other and later substitutes were Calcorian, Muromorna, Cordelova, Japanese Papers, Anaglypta, Salamander, Lignomur, Corticine, Cameoid, etc. These materials also imitated the leathers and the low relief plaster work. They, however, were soon found to be usable for many purposes to which plaster could not be put, and they were very much cheaper than real leather hangings.

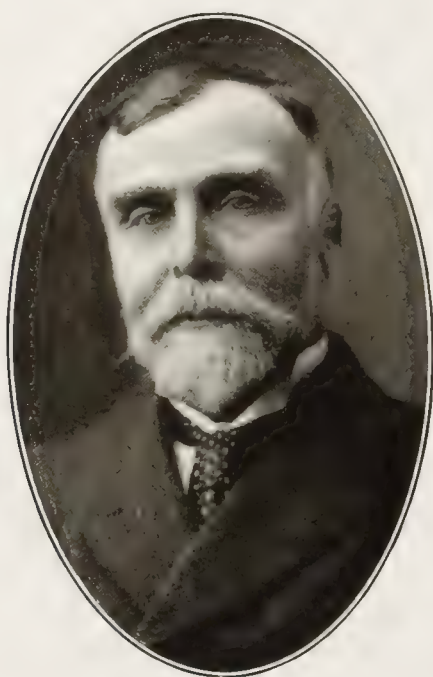
Tynecastle, Anaglypta, Lignomur and Cameoid, etc., owing to the light weight of the material, were also found to be adaptable to higher relief than Lincrusta had been, and to be serviceable for moderate relief work with mouldings and ornament up to two or three inches in depth. Tynecastle, Cameoid, Anaglypta, Salamander and Cordelova, all produced the higher reliefs, while the lower reliefs of the Lignomur and so-called Leatherette, produced results more after the type of the embossed leathers, the use of which, owing to their expensive nature, had almost ceased. Fibrous plaster, of course, still continued to be used, and is still used to a very great extent. The latest comer in relief decorative materials is steel, which is embossed and nailed generally direct to the rafters.

MILL RECORDS

***The appended records (given in chronological order) contain particulars of the origin of the firms engaged in the manufacture of decorative raised materials, together with some account of their products.*

SCOTT MORTON AND TYNECASTLE

THE firm of Scott Morton and Tynecastle Company, Limited began in the year 1870. The founder, William Scott Morton, was born in Carluke, Lanarkshire. His father, the village wright or joiner, was a man of unusual parts, who generally had a violin in the making, or a picture in process in the back premises. Thus early and of heredity did William get into touch with the Arts. At an early age he was apprenticed to a Glasgow architect. Here he made the lifelong friendship of William Leiper and William Forrest Salmon, fellow apprentices, and, later eminent architects.



W. SCOTT MORTON

The family removed to London, and William, still only a boy, with an inclination towards interior designs and furniture, was helping to keep the household by trying to sell designs to carpet and lace warehouses.

About this period, he got into touch with W. P. Frith, who employed him upon the architectural backgrounds of his national pictures. The elaborate structural work of "The Railway Station" is entirely the product of William Scott Morton, as is the still more intricate architectural drawing of Windsor Chapel in "The Marriage of the Prince of Wales."

In Frith's studio he not only met Dickens and Landseer, who were frequent visitors, but he also formed an intimate friendship about this time with John Philip—"Spanish Philip."

Later the Templetons, of Glasgow, and others gave him steady work in carpet and curtain designing. Afterwards

he entered the employment of the high-class furnishing house of Johnson and Jeans, London. Having saved enough money, he returned to Scotland, and in 1870 founded in Edinburgh the business, which to-day holds a prominent position in the field of decorative applied art and structural woodwork. It is still conducted by two of his sons and several of those who were closely associated with him in his lifetime.

William Scott Morton combined considerable business ability with a highly artistic temperament, but Art always came first regardless of price. A man of the utmost probity, of sanguine disposition, fond of congenial company and of travel, an indefatigable worker, and of a deeply religious mind, he impressed all who came in contact with him. With his employees he was on the best of terms, visiting them in sickness, and sharing with them the fruits of prosperity.

In early years the business produced what came to be known as "Art Furniture," and special attention was given to undertaking the entire decoration of an apartment, whether of a house or a public building, a class of work in which the firm gained high repute. All kinds of carpets and upholstery, hand-painted tiles, stained glass, and specially designed grates were among its specialities. The most important by-product, however, was "Tynecastle" canvas, called after the district in which it was produced.

Hitherto, William Scott Morton had expressed himself on walls in a range of wallpapers of his own design, and those of his assistants. The low relief of walls led to higher relief for friezes and ceilings. Canvas, being expensive, was gradually superseded by vellum or papier mâché.

In order to develop this branch of business, his friends, the late John and James Templeton, of Glasgow, became his partners in the Tynecastle Company, while the original furniture and woodworking business continued as Scott Morton & Co. Soon afterwards Scott Morton returned to the Highgate district of London, acting as senior partner, but leaving the weight of the business to his sons, Stewart and Robert.

From this time onwards, the nature of the business gradually changed. Private work was slowly dropped. In the woodwork section structural work to architect's schedule was developed, while in the "Tynecastle" section, decorators were more and more encouraged. The whole business, in fact, gradually changed from one of a private nature to one dealing only with the architectural profession, the decorating trades, railway-car builders and shipbuilders. Ship decoration has, for many years, been an important adjunct of the business, since the whole structural interior of a ship can be undertaken—woodwork, fibrous plaster, "Tynecastle" decorations, furniture and upholstery. The two sections recently merged, and a private limited company was formed under the name of Scott Morton and Tynecastle Company, Limited. Stewart Morton became managing director with Alex. Morton in charge of the London end.

"Tynecastle" tapestry, which was a special product of the works, grew out of a commission in the year 1874, for embossing and gilding leather for a house belonging to Lord Cadogan. The story of its inception may be told in a few sentences. About this time an elderly man applied to the firm for employment in any kind of work in which he could make himself useful. He had been working in Edinburgh for some years, chiefly in picture mounting. On questioning him as to previous occupations, it was found that in London he had done a little in the working of leather enrichments, in imitation of flowers, for picture frames, furniture and cornices. The mention of his leather-working experience encouraged Scott Morton, who had been seeking a means of expressing original designs in relief, to give him employment, and a start was made by the modelling of a leather decoration for the background of cabinet recesses and covings. The pomegranate formed the subject of the pattern, and one is reminded of this early effort by an occasional visit to the Grosvenor Gallery, where it fills some panels in the large saloon.

Immediately after the introduction of this work, Scott Morton was asked one day in London, by Lord Cadogan's architect if he could help respecting a difficulty as to the completion of the wall covering of the Library in Cadogan Square. It seemed that a quantity of old leather which was purchased for the walls was insufficient, and more could not be found. On examination of one of the old skins Scott Morton felt convinced that facsimiles could be produced, and undertook to complete the room. In a few weeks the embossing and old effect of colouring were satisfactorily accomplished, and the walls were covered with the old and new leather skins side by side. Japanese and other leathers were then, as now available. But not one of them had the peculiar quality of surface upon which depends the effect of really fine colour.

Scott Morton had always been associated with artists and had often discussed the subject with them. The general opinion was that, on the whole, for fine effects of pigment, the texture of canvas offers a surface that cannot be beaten by any artificial material. It was not their aim to simulate leather; but to produce an honest and beautiful substitute, which should not merely imitate more costly forms of relief decoration. Consequently, instead of "up-to-date" designs, now aesthetic, now rococo, and now quasi-Japanese, Scott Morton

produced hundreds of examples of each which may be classed with certain recurrent types that distinguish the great periods of domestic architecture. Whether they follow domestic, Tudor, or Jacobean, the revival classicism of the Adams, the delicate fantasy of Louis Seize, the more florid ornament of the German Renaissance, or the Italian cinque-cento, they all obey harmoniously the laws of their style, and show the originality of the scholar rather than the mere novelty at any price of the untaught artist. Scott Morton in short was a notable example of the school of designers which believes that freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent. At the same time, this loyal acceptance of styles already established, was coupled with a singularly fertile gift of inventing as regards method and material.

The outstanding feature of "Tynecastle" is that the canvas, being merely coaxed into the interstices of the mould by hand, still preserves its texture. In the usual embossed paper, or other fabric, the heavy pressure required to produce the designs smooths away whatever texture the natural material possessed and leaves a shiny surface which possesses no facets at different angles to impart broken colour and richness to the pigment that is afterwards applied upon it. This quality is of the utmost value when gold-leaf is used. Nothing is more mean and tinsel-like when laid on a flat and unbroken surface; but if the surface has a canvas or grained texture the richness of the actual metal is imparted to the infinitely thin layer of gold. The designs and the applied decoration would be effective in any material, but the peculiar quality they possess may be safely attributed to texture, and their claims to individuality advanced solely on this point.

"Tynecastle Vellum" is made from a substance which, in its semi-manufactured state, resembles a pulp, and later assumes an appearance of old parchment, and has its same tough quality. Its resemblance to plaster is striking, and since its purpose is to act as a substitute for this, "Vellum" appeals to the architect or decorator who wishes to achieve a quick effect at a reasonable price. With a large assortment of "period" ornaments to choose from, remarkable beautiful results can be obtained for walls, friezes, or ceilings. A craftsman can express himself through such a medium and leave his individuality stamped upon his work. Low-relief "Vellum" lends itself well to decoration and particularly where a soft leather effect is desired.

Prominent artists whose designs have been worked out in "Tynecastle" include Sir J. Burnett, Norman Shaw, H. Baillie Scott and T. E. Collcutt. Examples are seen in Plates 231-240.

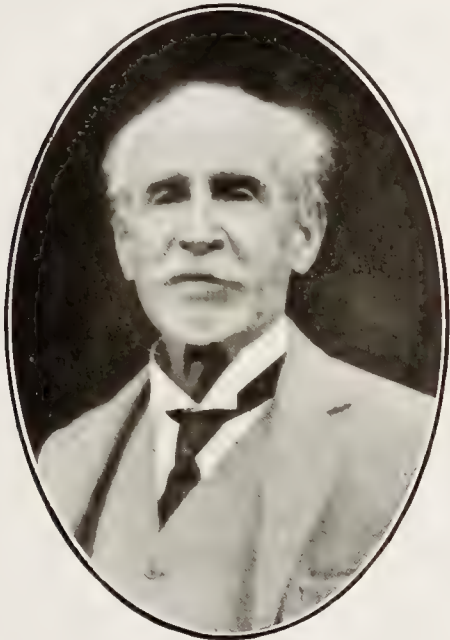
LINCRUSTA WALTON AND CAMEOID

IN the year 1877 the inventive mind of Frederick Walton had an idea of exceptional fertility. He had been associated for some years with a process that had been a remarkable success, the celebrated Staines linoleum; and it occurred to him that the material was capable of development in another and totally distinct way. Instead of applying it to floors he would, with some variation in its manufacture, apply it to walls, but with a modelled surface in relief in lieu of the printed coloured surfaces of the floor covering. The resultant product was "Linoleum Muralis" which was subsequently re-named "Lincrusta Walton"; Lin for Linium (flax) and Crusta (relief) one of the chief ingredients of Lincrusta being solidified linseed oil, and the inventor's name being added to prevent other firms using the same title.

In the early circulars which heralded the new decoration all the enthusiasm was displayed that marks the mental attitude of most inventors to their creations, which however is so often destined to disappointment and disillusion. In this case Frederick Walton escaped the

common experience, for "Lincrusta Walton," originally manufactured at Sunbury-on-Thames, though it has since been followed by many competitors, has successfully held its ground in its own particular sphere.

For flexibility and resiliency "Lincrusta Walton" is quite unequalled. One remembers those earlier productions, stiff as buckram and rigid as a plank, which were frequently sufficiently strong to "hold a wall up" if there were any structural weakness. After a very few years' experience, and thanks to valuable comments and practical suggestions from some of the most prominent decorators who showed a keen interest in the development of the article, the old heavy canvas backing was discontinued in 1887 and superseded by a light waterproof paper. In due course the wall paper merchants realised its value and commenced to insert mounted samples and illustrations in their new pattern books. This necessitated placing stock orders (hitherto practically unknown with regard to Lincrusta) and progress became continuous.



FREDERICK WALTON

"Comeoid" was the invention of D. M. Sutherland, the manager at Sunbury, and was originated in 1888 as an attempt to meet the competition with and demand for lightweight relief materials. The directors, however, were unwilling to market an article which might compete with Lincrusta proper, and it was not until 1898 that they decided to produce "Comeoid." It is interesting to note that the discoverer of "Anaglypta," the late T. J. Palmer, left the Lincrusta Co. in 1886, where he was London showroom manager, because of this same reluctance to admit alternatives to the original process.

When "Comeoid," an article in white bas-relief (the trade name being an adaptation of "cameo") was at length introduced, the advantage of a hollow-backed relief material was at once seen in its bold relief, its lightness in weight, cheapness and simplicity of manufacture, being pressed out of prepared paper.

The year 1902 marked a further step in the development of Lincrusta with the introduction of glazed tile patterns which were instantly recognized as being a perfectly sanitary and hygienic decoration. Hospitals and public institutions were quick to appreciate the value of the new line, produced in a variety of colours with a permanent glaze, and when hung, showing no perceptible joint.

Apart from its use for general decorative purposes, "Lincrusta Walton" was extensively used in ships, yachts, railway carriages, tramcars and motor cars. For shop-fronts and fascias it proved very effective and durable, being particularly adaptable for exterior decoration through its imperviousness to the weather if well painted or varnished after fixing. It is the only "relief material" which from the nature of its composition is not affected by the white ant, and is therefore extremely suitable for tropical countries.

In 1905 the business passed into the possession of the Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. A. J. Nicholson, who had succeeded Frederick Walton in the management and had joined the board of the Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., when that company acquired the Lincrusta business, died in 1908.

The introduction of Lincrusta wainscot in 1912 (first used for panelling the Masonic Temple at Chester,) opened up again an entirely new field, the sudden and increasing demand for which, taxed the resources of their works to their utmost. A form of oak dado had been previously tried in 1884, but this new innovation was an effective replica of real oak, capable of being stained to any colour and then polished with any ordinary wood polish. (See Plate 242). It could be simply applied by any practical decorator at a fraction of the cost of real wood with precisely the same effect.

In 1918 the manufacture of Lincrusta was transferred to Darwen. As an alternative to oak panelling the company then brought out an excellent imitation mahogany, following this up with a range of plain leathers (see Plate 241), which were an extremely good reproduction of actual skins.

Lincrusta silks, another revival of a previously unsuccessful experiment (1885), have also been introduced and obtained a firm hold on the market at the second attempt.

Amongst the many great designers whose work has been produced in Lincrusta and Cameoid are Lewis F. Day, George C. Haité, A. Carpenter, Owen W. Davis, Dr. Ch. Dresser, J. H. Lamb, F. Hamilton-Jackson, Adolphe Jonquet, and R. W. Brookes. Besides the oak and leather replicas in Plates 241 and 242, see Plates 243 and 244, for examples.

SUBERCORIUM

ANOTHER relief product brought out in 1881 in imitation of Lincrusta was "Subercorium" the proprietors of which were L. Jeune & Co., Queen Victoria Street, E.C. This was made from a composition having cork and rubber as its component parts and was pressed in relief in the manner of embossed paper. It resembled leather work in appearance and was supplied in plain colour or ready coloured. It was somewhat expensive and does not appear to have had a large use.

LIGNOMUR AND CALCORIAN

THE name "Lignomur" was introduced by an American company, who, in about 1880 commenced making a wall and ceiling decoration. To-day the name is all that has been preserved of the original company and its methods. The whole process of manufacture and basic materials have been abandoned, and, whereas the original Lignomur Company used a wood fibre pulp for obtaining their reliefs, which were impressed and coloured by means of wood blocks, the "Lignomur" of to-day is made from the finest rag pulp obtainable and the most powerful and modern machines are used in the manufacture.

For the distribution of their productions in this country the American company had established a small office and warehouse in London. This proved unsatisfactory from an economic view point, and it was then decided to manufacture in London. "Lignomur" was patented and put on the market in England in 1886.

During the year 1892 there was in the market for sale a concern known as "Calcorian," Wall and Ceiling Decoration Manufacturers, and negotiations opened by the Lignomur Company resulted in the purchase, by them, of this business, and the establishment of a manufactory for the production of "Lignomur" at Addison Works, Shepherd's Bush. The progress of the Lignomur Company in its early days was somewhat chequered, and it was eventually bought by the principal shareholder, a gentleman named Lucas, who carried on the business until 1896, when Allan, Cockshut & Co., wallpaper manufacturers

of Old Ford, London, who were desirous of including in their business the supply of relief papers, purchased this business as a going concern. The removal to Old Ford took place during the early part of 1897, since when the progress of this relief material has been continuous.

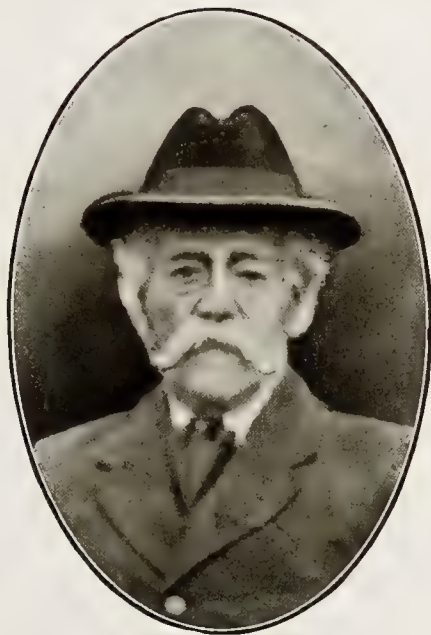
The actual process of manufacturing "Lignomur" to-day is much the same as that used for the making of "Calcorian," but whereas "Lignomur" is made from the rag pulp, "Calcorian" was manufactured from a composition of cork dust and rubber, spread on paper, by a large callendering machine, at a considerably greater cost.

The manufacture of low relief "Cameoid" decorations which had hitherto been conducted by the Lincrusta Walton Company, Sunbury-on-Thames, was taken over by the Lignomur Company in 1911.

Amongst great designers whose work has been reproduced in "Lignomur" are René Rainger, Owen W. Davis, A. Jonquet, J. H. Lamb, George C. Haité, S. J. Aumonier, and Durrant. (Examples in Plates 245-248).

ANAGLYPTA

WHILST "Lincrusta Walton" in its earliest stages was creating for itself a deservedly popular market, it occurred to T. J. Palmer, at that time the London manager of that company, that there was room for another product which through its character and price would appeal to the ordinary householder, so he set himself to solve the problem of embossing paper pulp before it arrived at the stage of finished paper. Two inducements offered themselves, firstly, the cheapening and simplification of manufacture, and, secondly the fact that although the relief would have a hollow back, it would be almost equal to a solid relief, because as there would be no straining of the fibres, the tendency of such a material after having been pasted and pressed home to the surface to be covered, would not be to revert to a flatter form.



THOMAS J. PALMER

After many experiments covering a period of years, T. J. Palmer was at last able to take out patents in 1887, for embossing paper pulp on a paper-making machine. The name given to the material was "Anaglypta" derived from the Greek words "Ana" meaning "raised," and "Glypta" meaning "cameo." The first manufacture of this material was undertaken by Storey Bros., Queens Mill, Lancaster, in the year 1888, and was eagerly taken up by the decorating and furnishing trade, because its extreme lightness in weight, its durability of relief, and last, but not least, its moderate cost as compared with other materials, placed within reach of the masses a

decorative material, which came a good second to "Lincrusta" in many respects, and actually superseded it for ceiling work, on account of this lightness.

In 1894 the business was acquired by C. & J. G. Potter & Company and transferred to Darwen, T. J. Palmer continuing as manager.

Out of the original patent arose a process of making a higher relief decoration by means of hydraulic pressure from plastic pulp, and this latter method has been so improved from time to time that the company is able to produce such bold relief ornament as to vie with much of the best modelled fibrous plaster work and at a fraction of the cost.

This factor has enabled the Anaglypta works during the last few years to cater so successfully for the ornamental work of public buildings, theatres, cinemas, etc., that examples may be found in most of these places throughout the world.

Amongst great designers whose work has been reproduced in "Anaglypta" are C. F. A. Voysey, Dr. Dresser, Owen W. Davis, George C. Haité, J. H. Lamb, René Rainger and Gilbert Bayes. (Examples in Plates 249-254).

The firm carried off two gold medals at the Paris Exhibition of 1900.

CORTICINE

THIS relief material, exclusively produced by means of rollers, was placed on the market about 1888 by the Corticine Floor Cloth Co., Ltd., of Ponder's End.

It was originated by an earlier employee of the Lincrusta Company, who was familiar with the processes of manufacture at Sunbury and bore a considerable similarity to the older Walton process, though the material used was not the original one, which was of course protected by patent.

After a few years the manufacture was abandoned and the pattern rollers were acquired by the Lignomur Company.

CORDELOVA

THIS relief, which was somewhat akin to "Tynecastle" tapestry, and probably owed its inspiration to this article, was first produced at Pitt Street, Edinburgh, by a firm named Brown. Shortly after its appearance the factory was taken over by Thomas Hall, a decorator, with some associates, one of whom was J. R. Nesbitt.

The material was made from a white homogeneous wrapping paper, the roller goods being manufactured by beating in the moistened paper, with suitable brushes, whilst the pattern or engraved (or carved) roller was slowly revolved also by hand. (This method was changed to the Lignomur type of male and female rollers, or, to use a better phrase, engraved rollers revolving in unison with vulcanised counter-part rollers, after the business had been acquired by the Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd. in 1899).

The high relief designs were produced by beating the paper, previously softened and made somewhat plastic, into the recesses of cast-iron pattern plates (cast from plaster models) by hand with suitable brushes, in the handling of which considerable skill was required. Two layers or sheets of paper were used, a front paper and a back, forming a duplex material.

These methods bear a considerable similarity to those employed in the manufacture of "Tynecastle." Their origin is steeped in antiquity, being based on the old process used in the making of Cordova leathers from which the name "Cordelova" also owed its adoption.

The usual gamut of designs in ceiling and wall decoration was traversed by the producers; but in 1903 an exceptionally handsome frieze called "The Tournament" (Plate 256), was issued, 30 inches deep and 12 feet in repeat. It was a finely modelled achievement presenting a procession of knights and horses in mediaeval costume, the latter being most richly emblazoned in colour, (other examples in Plates 255 and 257). The firm also manufactured private designs for Rottmann & Company.

SALAMANDER

THIS wall and ceiling decoration, including both high and low relief, was put on the market about 1895 or 1896 by The United Asbestos Co., Ltd., of Harefield, Middlesex (a firm since amalgamated with Bell's United Asbestos Co.) It was under the management of A. J. Duff and obtained a good foothold in the trade. In 1899 it was acquired by the Wall Paper Manufacturers Ltd., and in 1901 manufacture at Harefield Works was closed, the rollers being transferred to the Lignomur Co., at Old Ford, and the plates and presses to the Anaglypta Co., Darwen.

The high relief was made from wet asbestos pulp in sheet form on flat pattern plates and was the earliest attempt of its kind. The low reliefs, or roller goods, were embossed out of asbestos paper; the former quality were finely executed, the relief being bold, (see Plate 258). The presses used were of ordinary hydraulic character.

Much was claimed from the "fireproof" quality of asbestos, which unquestionably afforded great protection to rooms in case of fire; but the material had corresponding drawbacks as it was not waterproof, absorbed moisture readily, causing many unsightly failures where the walls were damp. It was ultimately merged into regular productions of Anaglypta and Lignomur respectively.



231. FLORENTINE EMBOSSED LEATHER

A 16th century specimen at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Reduction, 1—12.



232. FLORENTINE EMBOSSED LEATHER

Another 16th century specimen at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Reduction, 1—12.



233. TYNECASTLE
 "Fleur-de-lis." Designed by W. Scott Morton. Founded on old plaster. Produced in 1892. Reduction, 1-12.



234. TYNECASTLE
 From the "Old Reindeer Inn," Banbury. Produced about 1897-98. Reduction, 1-12.



236. TYNECASTLE

Reproduced from old Scottish woodwork for the Bishop's Palace, Glasgow, 1901.
Produced about 1886. Reduction, 1—4.



235. TYNECASTLE

"Cartledge Hall." Produced in 1899. Reduction, 1—12.



237. TYNECASTLE
Old Scotch plaster. From Glamis Castle in Forfarshire. Reduction, 1—5.



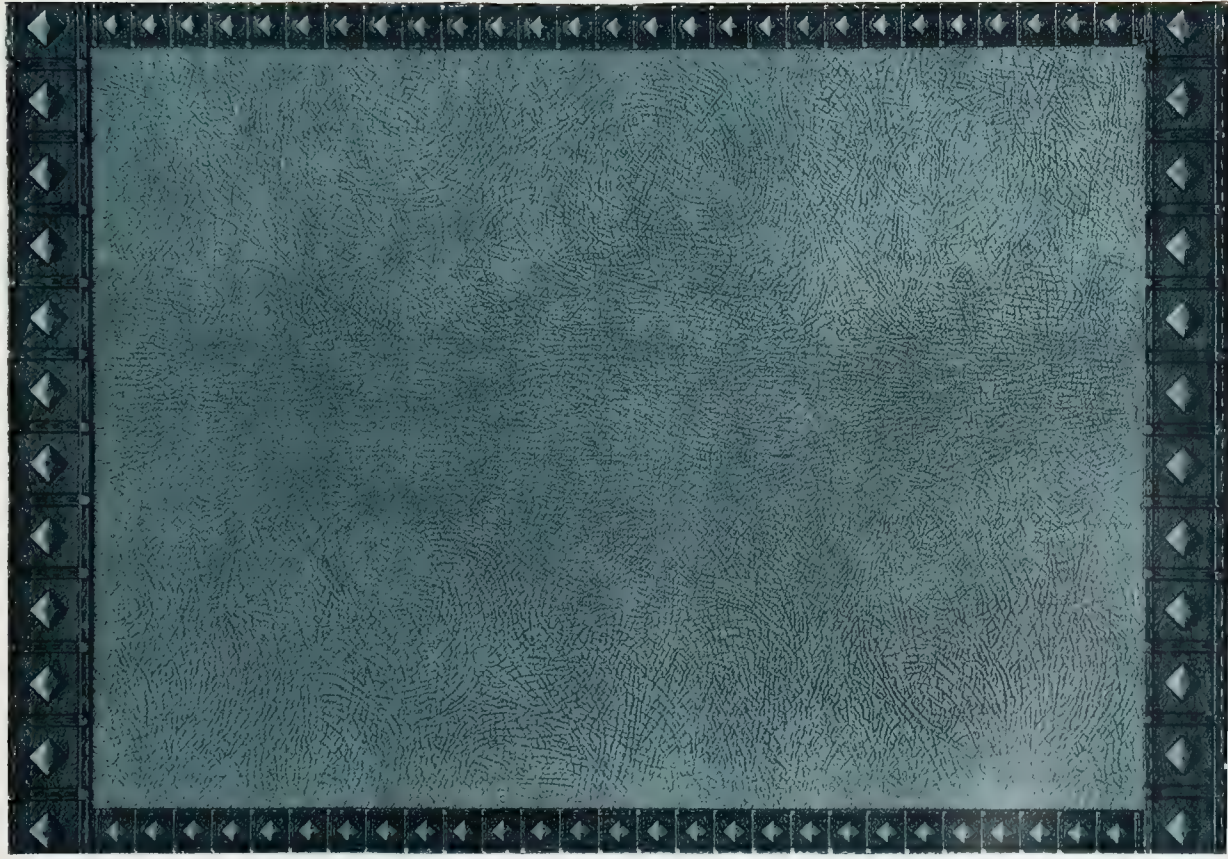
238. TYNECASTLE
From Craigevar Castle in Aberdeenshire. Reduction, 1—5.



239. TYNECASTLE
Designed by H. Baillie Scott, for the late Duke of Hesse. Produced in 1900. Reduction, 1—6.



240. TYNECASTLE
Designed by R. Norman Shaw, R.A. Produced about 1886-7. Reduction, 1—6.



241. LINCRUSTA WALTON
A plain leather effect. Reduction, about 1-6.



242. LINCRUSTA WALTON
Oak panelling. Reduction, 1-6.



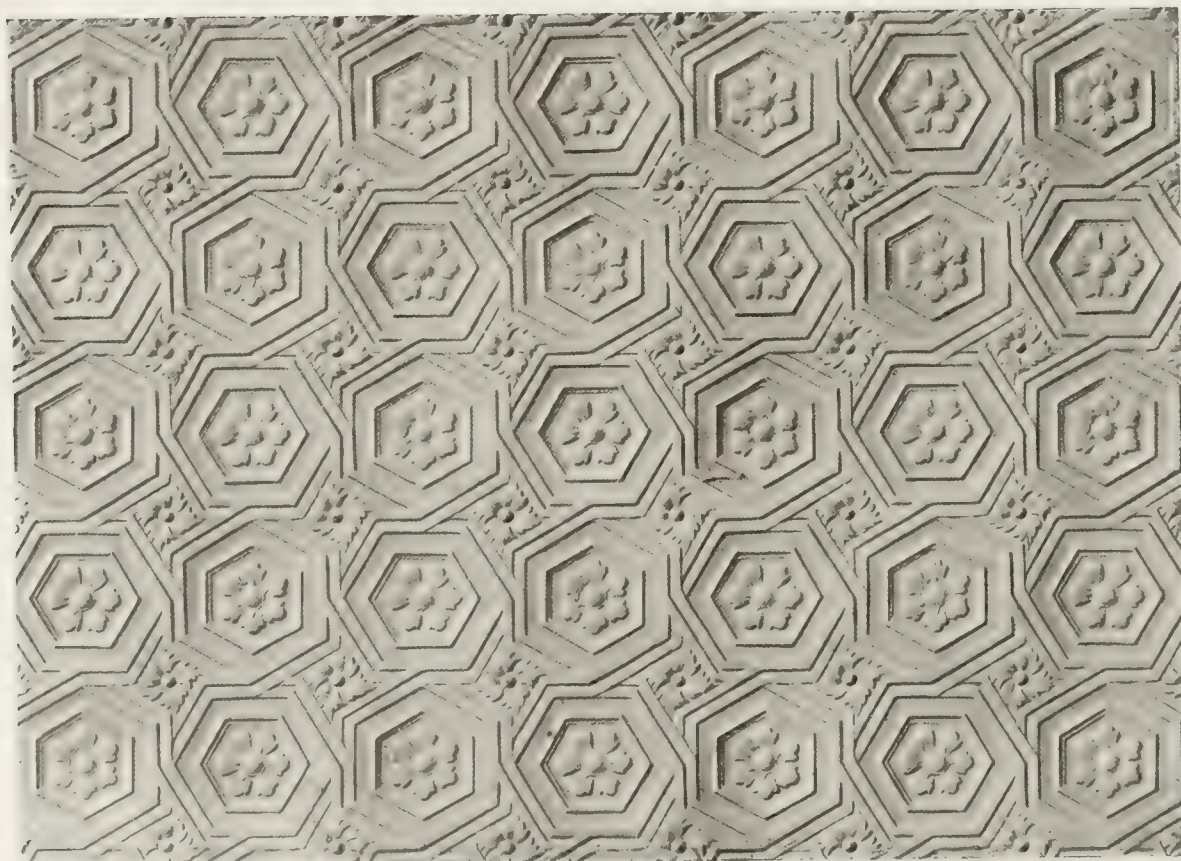
243. LINCRUSTA WALTON
An early specimen (1881). Reduction, 1—4½.



244. CAMEOID
Italian. 36 inches in repeat. Produced about 1906. Reduction, 1—5.



245. LIGNOMUR
Designed by Baird. Produced in 1902. Reduction, 1—6.



246. LIGNOMUR
Designed by Owen Davis. Produced in 1901. Reduction, 1—7.



247. LIGNOMUR
Designed by René Rainger. Produced in 1908. Reduction, 1—5.



248. LIGNOMUR
Designed by Ellingham. Produced in 1912. Reduction, 1—6.



249. ANAGLYPTA
Adam ceiling. Reduction, about 1—20.



250. ANAGLYPTA
Louis XV ceiling. Reduction, about 1—20.

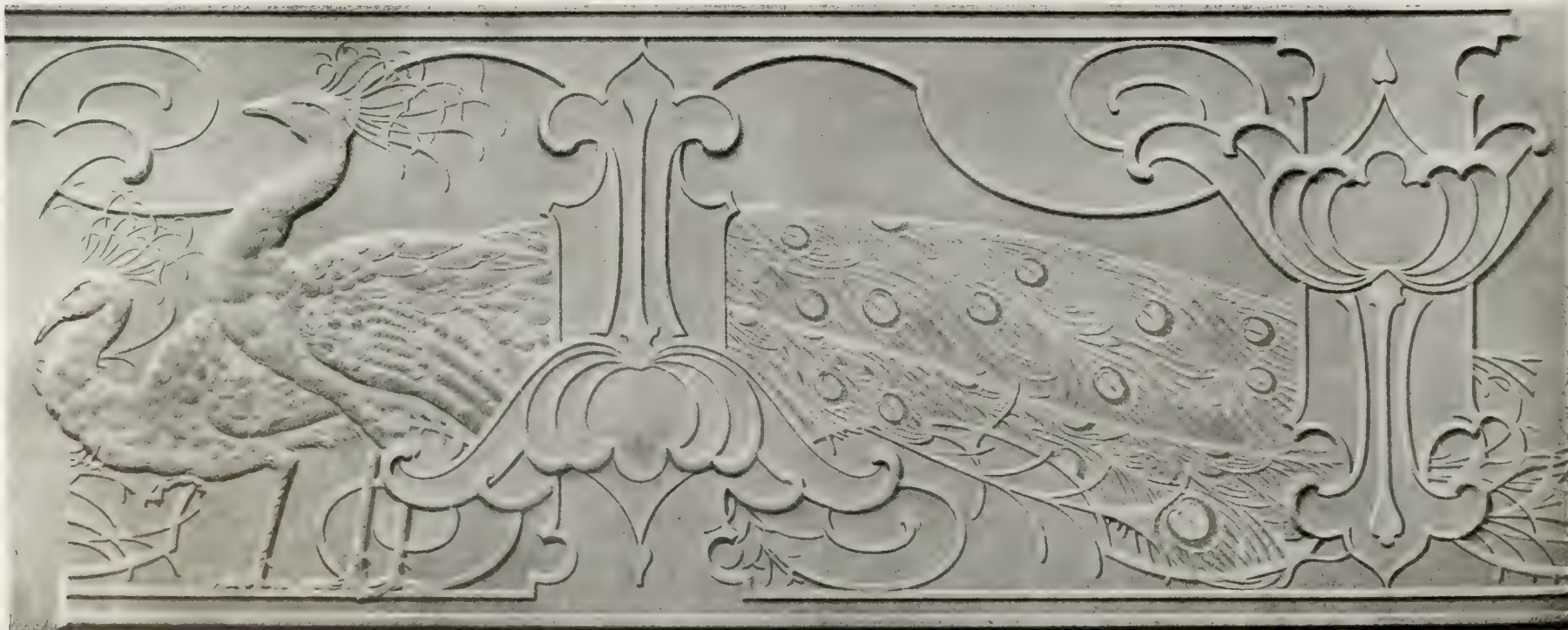


251. ANAGLYPTA

Italian ceiling. Copy of plaster ceiling. Produced about 1900. Reduction, 1—10.



252. ANAGLYPTA
"Francis I." Produced about 1894. Reduction, 1—10.



253. ANAGLYPTA
Frieze 57 inches in repeat. Designed by George C. Haité. Produced in 1901. Reduction, 1—7.



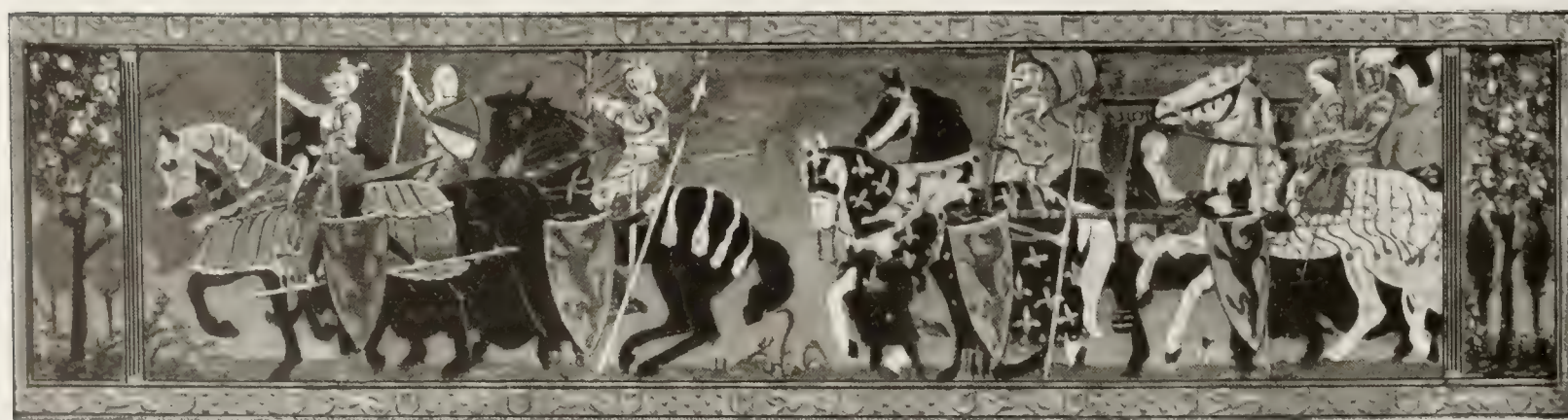
254. ANAGLYPTA

Designed by George C. Haité. Produced in 1900. Shown at Paris Exhibition same year. Reduction, 1—5.



255. CORDELOVA

Drawn from an old leather (1892). Reduction, 1—4 $\frac{1}{2}$.



256. CORDELOVA

The "Tournament" Frieze. Produced in 1902. Reduction, 1—10.



257. CORDELOVA
 "Italian." 40 inches in repeat. Produced about 1898. Reduction, 1—5.



258. SALAMANDER
 "Georgian." 41 inches in repeat. Produced about 1899. Reduction, 1—5.

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